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THE PRIVATE CHARACTER OF
QUEEN ELIZABETH



THE REAL QUEEN ELIZABETH

Untouched enlargement from the original miniature by Nicholas Hilliard in the Duke of Buccleuch's Collection in the Victoria and Albert Museum

THE PRIVATE CHARACTER OF QUEEN ELIZABETH

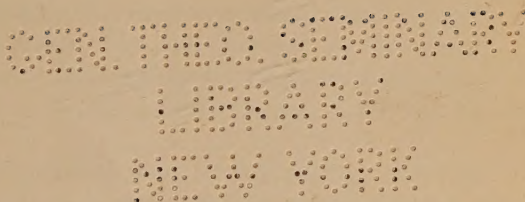
BY FREDERICK CHAMBERLIN

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INTRODUCTION

WHEN, eight years ago, I set aside all other affairs to write a biography of Queen Elizabeth, I planned the usual chronological work that, volume by volume, would unfold her career from her birth to her death—this despite the warning of Sir Anthony Weldon, who, in *A Brief History of the Kings of England* (1652), omitted all particulars of the reign of Elizabeth with this cryptic explanation: "If why I omit . . . Queen Elizabeth, I answer I have nothing to do with women, and I wish I never had."

I have, however, never been able to control the MS. of this publication. The material for it, as it gradually came to light, demanded a treatment other than that provided by the original scheme; and in the end I have had to submit to the most radical alterations of it. The same will probably be said of the succeeding volume.

At the outset I was led to a most critical reading of Froude and Lingard—a comparison of their more important statements with the facts, and a weighing of their interpretation and treatment of them.

In this I made the usual error of approaching Froude's twelve volumes from the standpoint of the ordinary reader—that is, as a continuous story of the Reformation period. Taken in this fashion, Froude is irresistible. He has had few equals as a writer of attractive English prose, and as an alluring historian none at all, except Macaulay. His many thousand pages are as fascinating as the best of romances. But even his one biographer admits that if history be the story of things as they were, Froude was not an

historian.* His basic theme—the attempted sanctification of Henry VIII., probably the most despised monarch of all the ages—is grotesque; and when he is driven by his task to demonstrate that Anne Boleyn was destroyed by an equitable, justifiable, civilized process, at a time when the Government selected the juries, when Prime Ministers of England—although then under other title—left in their own handwriting minutes ordering the “trial and execution” of inconvenient gentlemen, when heads were falling by mere Act of Parliament whose members were Government minions, he involves himself in a very morass of illusion; and when Froude’s erroneous characterization of the mother was employed by him, and others, to attack the daughter Elizabeth, even fantasy was carried too far.

Moreover, I could not admit a solid basis for Froude’s unique theory that Elizabeth was not to be credited with her successes, but only with her failures; that Cecil was the Great Queen, and Elizabeth merely a figurehead. The fact that everybody the world over among her contemporaries had gathered an exactly contrary impression had not the slightest influence upon Froude. His reasoning powers were as unable to save him from this as from applauding the decapitation of Anne Boleyn mainly, if not wholly, for adultery committed while married to Henry VIII. by a ceremony which he had declared void *ab initio*!

I am of the opinion that what misled Froude was his inherent belief that—just because she was such—no *woman* could possibly do what all her contemporaries and all posterity had always said Elizabeth accomplished. When she did the *right* thing against Burghley’s advice and intense, prolonged opposition, as she did in her Scottish policy, which made Great Britain and was one of the greatest glories of her career—and time acknowledges she was indubitably and always correct and Burghley mistaken—Froude,

* “‘It has not yet become superfluous to insist,’ said the Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Cambridge . . . ‘that history is a science, no less and no more.’ If this view is correct and exclusive, Froude was no historian. . . . A mere chronicler of events he would hardly have cared to be. He had a doctrine to propound, a gospel to preach.”—*Life of Froude*, Herbert Paul, p. 72.

To the same effect is the dictum of Prof. A. F. Pollard: “Froude . . . has failed to convince students of the fidelity of his pictures or the truth of his conclusions; . . . he compares the facts of history to the letters of the alphabet, which by selection and arrangement can be made to spell anything. He derided the claims of history to be treated as a science, and concerned himself exclusively with its dramatic aspect. . . . Froude himself admits that the dramatic poet is not bound when it is inconvenient to what may be called the accidents of facts.”—*D.N.B.*, Suppl. vol. ii. p. 261.

unable—because he had already detailed Burghley's enmity thereto—to ascribe the victory to that minister, *has* to say that her policy "was no result of any far-sighted or generous calculation" or "wisdom," but "the fortune which stood her friend so long."

Anybody, anything, so long as it be not a *woman*, would serve Froude. He could have denied the ability of any ruler who ever lived, by such pettiness. I cannot find the trace of a modern idea in him.

The unexpected thing is that, while making Elizabeth out to be a fool, he makes her out to be chaste—a choice which, to his astonishment, might not have met with much enthusiasm from the lady most concerned. "The attacks," he says, "of Lingard and others upon her personal purity I believe to be gratuitous and unjust. I intended, as briefly as I could, to undertake her vindication." *

Froude's theory that Cecil was the real queen had, however, one advantage. Other historians were content to account for Leicester's prominence and overpowering success as the result of licentious relations with the Queen ; but, as we have just seen, Froude not being of this opinion, had to find another explanation ; and so, after suppressing, belittling, and misrepresenting everything that Leicester did, Froude accounts for Leicester's astoundingly successful career by making out Elizabeth so devoid of ability as always to have been deceived by him whom everybody else despised and saw through.

If Henry VIII. is to be canonized, Anne Boleyn has to be sacrificed. If Cecil is to be exalted, Elizabeth must be torn down ; and one way of effecting it is to tear down Leicester—an easy task, for Leicester seems never to have cared to justify himself, nor to have been in the least concerned as to what his contemporaries or posterity would say of him. In any case, he has come down to us as a man of little, if any, talent, who secured and maintained his lofty place solely by a *liaison* with his queen.

The fact that for thirty years Leicester and Cecil were respectively the leaders of the two parties which alternately divided the control of the Queen's Council, and that it was Leicester's personal triumph over both Cecil and the Queen which, after a

* Froude, Preface, vol. i. (1858 ed.). So bad a use of "gratuitous" is rare in Froude.

steady fight lasting for more than twenty-five years, at last forced the break with Spain, and transferred from that country to England the leadership of the world, is, I can positively assert, unknown to the great mass of his countrymen. And that this Leicester, far-sighted, powerful, patriotic, and adventurous, is at last on the way to regaining that high place in history which was not, save by envy, impugned in his lifetime, is portended by the following statement in the recent life of Cecil by M. A. S. Hume :

"Lord Burghley was thus, after a quarter of a century of striving to keep on friendly relations with Spain, forced by the policy of Leicester, Walsingham, and the strong Protestants, into the contest which he had hoped to avoid." * Mr. Hume is the first man sufficiently courageous to make such an announcement.

Even more convincing confirmation is the following, from the pen of one of the ablest of the living Cecils, Algernon Cecil :

"In desire, perhaps, the Queen adhered to the old English tradition . . . of an understanding . . . with . . . the Netherlands, which had passed into the hands of Philip of Spain. This was the policy to which Burghley's cautious and conservative disposition naturally inclined, for it was a policy essentially peaceful and diplomatic, was clear of religious fanaticism. . . .

"Over against this policy lay one infinitely more congenial to the spirit of the age, because infinitely more daring and infinitely more religious. Almost all the names which have made the Elizabethan age remembered can be cited in its support. Leicester and Walsingham, Essex and Raleigh, Drake and all the host of seamen who followed in his train, were from their stand-points for a policy that was Protestant, bellicose, imperial, productive of spoils and honours, quick in results and boundless in possibilities. The Cecils held back, doubting whether England was yet strong enough, or enough at one with herself, to seize an empire. . . .

"Each year that Elizabeth reigned caused Burghley's policy to appear less necessary and the other more alluring. The fall of Mary Stuart, the massacre of St. Bartholomew, the gathering flood in the Netherlands, the tardiness of Philip, the theological affinities of James, tempted Elizabeth little by little to bolder and more definite courses, which culminated in Drake's ever-memorable attack on Cadiz. . . . Burghley, however, who had been in real or affected disgrace since the execution of the Queen

* *The Great Lord Burghley*, p. 386.

of Scots in the February of that same year, had recovered his ascendancy over the Queen so soon as Leicester retired to Buxton to be treated for the gout. He was indeed too late to stop Drake from starting, but from that moment the country which had been sailing merrily into conflict returned to its normal path of equivocal negotiation. For a few months it seemed possible that his counsels might once again avail to leash the dogs of war, though he himself cherished no illusions as to the grave state of public affairs. The situation, as he pointed out, had been profoundly modified by two acts, the wisdom of which he considered very doubtful. Mary's execution had provoked her son to adopt an attitude of dangerous hostility, whilst in the attack on Cadiz the King of Spain had suffered an insult which even a lesser monarch could not have afforded to leave unavenged. There lay a fearful peril in the possibility of an alliance between Spain and Scotland. The Queen ought therefore to abandon her temporizing policy in respect of James and give him that assurance of the English succession which alone could make him her loyal supporter." *

There is the truth. In no other written sentences, I believe, has there been compressed so much that is indicative of the relative places which Burghley and Leicester should occupy in the minds of their later countrymen—yet has history been so written that their respective positions have been exactly reversed.

Burghley is not only credited with all that Leicester and his enthusiastic adherents secured for England, but Burghley now enjoys credit for all that even his Queen accomplished—when, as a matter of fact, Burghley opposed with all his might everything that brought about the break with Spain and transferred the Crown of the World from her brow to that of England. Leicester impelled Elizabeth to send Drake to attack Spain. Burghley did everything he could to keep Drake at home. Leicester told the Queen again and again that England needed no friends, that she could take care of herself. Burghley tried his best to make the Queen believe that this was untrue. Burghley tried to get Elizabeth to secure James's co-operation in her plans for joining the two kingdoms by promising him the succession. Elizabeth believed—and she proved correct—that the way to secure James was to promise him nothing, but to threaten him from time to time with loss of the succession if he did not behave himself. Burghley believed the execution of Mary a great error.

* *A Life of Robert Cecil*, pp. 19 *et seq.*, by Algernon Cecil, London, 1915.

Leicester had urged it for years ; and the results show that this course was the only right one. Yet Froude has the hardihood to say :

“ She (Elizabeth) never modified a course recommended to her by Burghley without injury both to the realm and to herself. She never chose an opposite course without plunging into embarrassments, from which his skill and Walsingham’s were barely able to extricate her. The great results of her reign were the fruits of a policy which was not her own, and which she starved and mutilated when energy and completeness were needed.” *

If Froude had said that “ the great results of her reign were the fruits of a policy ” which was opposed at every step by Burghley, he would have been much nearer the truth. Everything in England’s policy that was venturesome, that was daring, that was new, was opposed by Burghley all his life ; everything in England’s policy that was venturesome, that was daring, that was new, was fought for by Leicester all his life—and it was the venturesome, daring new policies that during the time of Elizabeth raised England from a third-rate power to the first power of the globe, and enabled the Great Queen, with that vision which was one of the most characteristic marks of her genius, to prophesy that James VI. “ would, one day, become King of Great Britain,” her tongue for the first time, I believe, thus calling the mighty empire that she was founding and leaving to her people—a fact which three hundred years later seems unknown to every one of them.

Leicester’s overpowering figure has been encountered at every turn by every historian of the Golden Age. They all praise without stint the remarkable penetration of Elizabeth when choosing her chief colleagues in the Government. Yet with all her ability in this direction, Leicester deceived her as to his talents for thirty consecutive years !

All historians agree that she loved her country and passionately maintained its interests. Yet, worthless fop that Leicester was, it is to him that she entrusts the direction of the most important effort she ever made on foreign soil—when she sends him to command in the Low Countries ; and when, several years later, the Armada was on its way, and she and England

* Froude, *Hist. of England*, vol. xii. p. 559 (1870 ed.).

were in hourly danger of utter destruction, it was the worthless Leicester whom she placed in supreme command of her army at Tilbury—upon which, if the invaders landed, she and the kingdom must alone depend for their very existence. And when she did this she was fifty-five years of age !

We see her on horseback—an immortal picture—riding, with Leicester beside her, up and down the lines of the great English army ; and when she addresses the men she has the hardihood, at this most historical, solemn, and sacred moment of all her long life, to tell them orally : “ My Lieutenant-General shall be in my stead, than whom never Prince commanded a more noble or worthy subject ”—this Leicester who was reputed brainless, whose mistress she was said to have been for more than thirty years !

A woman of mature years who, in her high place, could have acted thus could have had no sense of dignity, nor of pride, nor of public opinion. We recall no parallel for such shamelessness. Can a more pitiful, ridiculous position for a queen be imagined ?

Yet all historians agree that Elizabeth was entirely dependent for her power upon public opinion, that she had a most remarkable knowledge of its currents, that she was very proud, ever most careful to cultivate and preserve her dignity and the respect and affection of her subjects ; and more, that she succeeded in all these aims to an unprecedented degree. And yet, when the danger from the Armada was averted, she planned that her greatest reward for the victory should go to Leicester, despite the fact that none of the historians shows that he had played any important part in bringing about the happy outcome ! She had ordered letters patent made, conferring on this good-for-nothing scapegrace the Lieutenant-Generalship of England and Ireland, thus giving him more power than had previously been delegated to any subject by any English monarch. Truly, if this be history, Elizabeth was an old fool !

But this anomalous and, indeed, impossible position gives little disquiet to the historians. They handle it by not handling it at all. So far as the Tilbury speech is concerned, it is either suppressed in its entirety, or given in the phrases already quoted. Froude, of course, omits the whole text ; but by misdating it he is able to use the incident of its delivery as the basis of a striking phrase which cannot be made to coincide with the known facts. Still, we have the striking phrase.

So, going their way, the historians leave Leicester in his resplendent position ; and, after all that can be done by neglect, misrepresentation or detraction, there he stands, growing greater and greater the more the world learns of the details of Elizabeth's reign.

Leicester is the very heart of its mystery, and I hope to see my biography of him reinstate him in the incomparable place he occupied during his lifetime. If for any reason I be not permitted to complete the volume, the work will still be done, for neither the history of Elizabeth nor of her times can be adequate until the life of the chief man of her Court and councils has been probed and completely written. The task should be easily done even by one new to it, for nothing that pretends to be a life of him has yet been printed. He has had, with scarcely a line published in his defence, to submit to three centuries of continuous vilification.

Oxford has had its share in this—Oxford which, at the most critical period in all its history, when (to quote its first historian, Anthony à Wood) it “became empty,” helpless, and gasping for very life, was resuscitated and set upon its feet once more by that Leicester to whom in its agony it had appealed, and who for the remainder of his life, twenty-four years, was its one and most powerful patron and Chancellor. It is that University which inflicts on its preserver the deepest stab of all through the pen of its graduate and teacher of history, Froude, in his Protestant history of a time when Leicester was the best sword and buckler that the Puritan and Protestant had at Court.

If Leicester could have known this, surely we might say :

“Keen were his pangs, but keener far to feel,
He nursed the pinion which impelled the steel,”

To the ample evidence as to Leicester's true position set forth in the coming volume, I shall now add : that of all the historical scholars who have dealt with Leicester, only two, except Mr. Hume, as already mentioned, appear to have seen the first glimmering of the truth. The names of these two will be unknown to most of my readers. They are Richard Congreve and Professor Edward Spencer Beesly, late Professor of History at University College, London, both of whom have since passed away. These three alone appear to have been capable of approaching Leicester with common sense and an unprejudiced mind.

It is rare to find an English historian who, unbiassed by the religious controversies of the Reformation period, can take an impartial view of its actual facts, for church controversy is still a militant factor in English national life; learned men spend their lives in insisting that the points of ecclesiastical difference shall be even more sharply defined or insisted upon; the ancestors of most English families risked their lives for their Protestantism or Catholicism, and the wrongs committed by both sides are even to-day too poignant to permit of an unprejudiced view by either party. A simple inquiry to-day of any Catholic priest as to the character of Queen Elizabeth, or of any Protestant priest as to that of Mary Stuart, will elicit a response, if he speak freely, which will probably require considerable expurgation.

So, when we find Froude carefully omitting—to cite only one typical example of *his* bias—the story of the martyrdom of the eleven English Catholic bishops (all there were when the Reformation began), we cannot be surprised—he was a *Protestant* clergyman. When Lingard—to take a typical example of *his* bias—omits to say that in the last letter of Mary Stuart to the Pope (just before her execution) she urged him to foment an armed revolution and invasion of England with the object of dethroning Elizabeth, we cannot be surprised—he was a *Catholic* clergyman. He did not, however, in this case certainly violate his principle of telling what was sure to be discovered; for up to that time the Vatican, which then had possession of the MS., would not permit its publication.

It is much to be regretted that by such practices these famous writers should have impugned the reliability of their works and thus made it impossible in the true and discriminating sense of the term, to refer to either of them unqualifiedly as an historian. Lingard should always be designated as the Catholic historian, and Froude as the Protestant historian. Each wrote for only one object—to glorify his own side of a life and death controversy*—and woe will be the part of the student who does not make due allowance for this fact!

Lingard, to give him his due, was by far the fairer of the couple. He was willing to state, as a rule, as we have just

* "In my account of the reformation I must say much to shock protestant prejudices; Whatever I have said or purposely omitted has been through a motive of serving religion." Lingard to Rev. J. Kirk, December, 1819, from MS. at St. Cuthbert's, Ushaw.

observed, those facts against the Catholics which could not be hidden from the other side.* No such spirit ever touched the dogmatic Froude. To him an incident inconsistent with his theory of what the facts ought to be had no existence at all, and he had no sense of humour to save him. Only Froude could have maintained a straight face as, despite his intimate knowledge of his hero's entire history, he set down such a sentence as this :

"It was a cruel fortune which imposed on Henry VIII., in addition to his other burdens, the labour, to him so arduous, of finding heirs to strengthen the (his) succession."†

Even Lingard's cat, whose physical troubles so worried his master, could have enjoyed the old gentleman's shout of glee when he first saw this solemn pronouncement.

No attempt has been made to challenge Lingard's supremacy as historian on the Catholic side. No rival has contended for the similar leadership of the Protestant faction. The result of this is, that, as many books of travel are written by people whose acquaintance with foreign lands is confined to the Reading Room of the British Museum, so any diligent student may produce an average history of sixteenth-century England merely by taking Froude and Lingard and striking a balance between the two.

This lack of rivalry where Froude and Lingard are concerned leaves the field clear for what claims to be the first study of the private character of her who is, I believe, by far the greatest woman of history ; not only the greatest monarch who has ever occupied the throne of England, but, with the exceptions of Alexander, Napoleon, and Cæsar, the greatest monarch who has ever occupied any throne.

* In refuting a complaint that he had recited "the arguments *against* the religious (Monks), but never *for* them," Dr. Lingard says : "I cannot possibly conceive to what passages he (the complainant) alludes, unless it be to pp. 229 and 260, where I do mention the charges against them ; and I should have been a fool not to do it, since it has been done by every protestant historian before me. . . . Perhaps he (the complainant) would have had me deny the whole charge altogether. I did, indeed, begin by doing so. . . . The very attempt convinced me that in many instances the charge was founded. . . . To have met the charge by denying it (would have been) *contrary to sound policy because it might have provoked some one to lay before the public eye in a pamphlet a review of that mass of whoredom and immorality contained in the M.S., Cleop : IV.*" Letter to Rev. J. Kirk, November 25, 1820, from Gillow transcript at St. Cuthbert's, Ushaw. The italicized words are crossed out in the transcript.

† Froude, vol. iii, p. 461 (1858 ed.).

As already indicated, I was, at the beginning, in the attitude of the average individual toward the morals of Elizabeth. I hope that dignity will not suffer if I illustrate this by the composition of the little English girl, who ended her compulsory impressions of the monarch in this style : "Queen Elizabeth was a very improper person ; but by reason of great tact she succeeded in being called a Virgin Queen after she was dead."

I had never doubted that Elizabeth was the mistress of Leicester, of Essex, of Raleigh, of Hatton, etc. ; and such is at the present moment the practically unanimous opinion of mankind. Such it has been since the death of Elizabeth's contemporaries, and their immediate posterity ; and, as we shall see, no other verdict could have been expected in the light of the existing histories.

It was but a little thing which excited my suspicion that the world might have been misled in this matter. Had I not practised law for many years, I suppose that the significance of the incident would have escaped me, as it seems to have escaped my predecessors. The prosecutor, if we may so call him, was too eager to convict—a frame of mind few prosecutors can avoid.

I do not here anticipate particulars, which will be found in the text, but content myself with the statement that the accidental notice of the questionable use of a single word excited my wonder to such a degree that I spent some days in pursuing the clue to its ultimate source, only to find that my suspicions had been more than justified, and that the entire question of Elizabeth's morals must be examined *de novo*—nay, that, strictly speaking, it had never been examined at all. Even the first steps made it obvious that my first volume on Elizabeth was to be very different from the work that had been planned.

Herein will be found the first collection attempted of all the contemporary evidence for and against the morality of Elizabeth. Most of the evidence will be new to all readers ; and much, of the highest significance, has never previously appeared.

Every public and private library that offered hope of harbouring new material has been searched. Not a paper in Rome has been left unseen ; my sole aim has been to exhaust the subject upon both sides, and I can confidently assert that this has been done, so far as regards every probable source of information in this and in every other country. Should other evidence hereafter

appear, it can only be in stray documents hidden in unsuspected places. The existence of such documents is not impossible, but can certainly not be considered probable.

As to the volume in general, there is but one more word to be said. After my Royal Institution lectures in 1920, when I first announced some of my discoveries, a well-known historical scholar said that I had developed a new way of writing history. If it be so, it is, I believe, because my main aim has been to set before the reader the evidence itself rather than what I think about it. The solution of the historical problem is thus left altogether to the reader rather than, as hitherto, to the historian.

This effort necessarily results in a book quite different from any that has yet appeared; but I hope that this will be considered its greatest fault.

I cannot close this page without recording my great indebtedness to Mr. Robert Farquharson Sharp, when Superintendent of the Reading Room of the British Museum, for an unique opportunity of uninterrupted, secluded work; to his assistant, Mr. A. I. Ellis, and to H. Dyer of the desk in the North Library, who has saved me many hours of the most exasperating labour. Especial acknowledgment is due to Dr. Aksel Andersson, Director of the Kungl. Universitetets Bibliotek, Uppsala, Sweden; to Dr. Isak Collijn, Director of the Foreign Department of the Royal Library, Stockholm; to Dr. Charles Bratli, the distinguished historical student of Copenhagen; to Dr. Juan Montero, Jefe of the Archivo General de Simancas, Spain; and to Edwin Bonney, Librarian of St. Cuthbert's, Ushaw.

But most chiefly am I indebted to the medical experts, Messrs. Osler, Allbutt, Doran, Keith, and Howard, who in the midst of most insistent demands connected with the Great War, and in more than one instance when well-nigh overwhelmed with the loss of their first-born in that struggle, have given to the world the benefit of their opinions upon the most significant inquiry that can be raised concerning the life of Elizabeth. To that great medical and historical authority, Sir Arthur Keith, who alone made possible these contributions of his distinguished colleagues, I beg to offer this separate statement of gratitude and admiration. Every student of Elizabeth will always owe him a heavy obligation.

Finally, I indite my most profound gratitude to Miss E. M. Smith-Dampier for her critical reading of the MS.—as severe a demand as could be made upon a valued friendship; to Dr. G. C. Williamson, another friend, whose active aid and sound advice have been a continuous inspiration; and to Major George G. Whiffin, late of The Queen's, who has given me many days of his time to save my own.

F. C.

VILLA BELLA VISTA,
EL TERRENO, PALMA DE MALLORCA,
June 26th, 1920.

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THE PRIVATE CHARACTER OF
QUEEN ELIZABETH

THE PRIVATE CHARACTER OF QUEEN ELIZABETH

CHAPTER I

THE SEYMOUR AFFAIR. SCANDAL AT THIRTEEN

THE chastity of Elizabeth seems to have been the subject of gossip when she was only thirteen years of age, and, while it would appear that no charge was seriously made by any one adequately informed, still we are not at liberty to omit the occurrence, accompanied by a necessary word of her previous history. Further, as the Seymour Affair, as we term it, was the first great turning point of the girl's life, and discovers, as nothing else can in so confined a space, her mind, training, character and the very foundations of her success as a sovereign, the reader will not regret the pages devoted to it—indeed, he cannot understand the Great Queen at all if he omit these details.

In the Seymour Affair, fate made Elizabeth the leading character in one of the most daring intrigues ever recorded, with no less than her reputation for personal purity, the throne of England and the very life of herself and the first man she could have loved, for the stakes. We shall look in vain through all the pages of history for the record of so educative an experience in the life of any other girl of thirteen. She was two years older when the headsman put an end to the story, and it had made her from a girl into a woman who knew men, and women, and the world.

It will be recalled that when Elizabeth was only two years of age, her mother, Anne Boleyn (pronounced Bullin) was

beheaded by her husband, Henry VIII., and that he had for a long time been paying court to Jane Seymour, whom he married within twenty-four hours after he had killed her predecessor. At about the same time he had Elizabeth declared illegitimate, and, thus disqualified, unable to succeed to the throne. Henceforth, so far as Henry and his Court were concerned, Elizabeth was an outcast, without even sufficient clothing, banished to a relative of her mother some thirty miles from London.

We do not know that Jane Seymour ever showed interest in the forlorn, motherless girl ; but more may be said in favour of Jane's three successors in the affections of Henry VIII., Anne of Cleves, Catherine Howard, and Katherine Parr, and especially of the last, who became Queen when Elizabeth was nine. A year later, however, the little girl was in the deepest discredit, for what reason we cannot discover, and for twelve months she was altogether forbidden the Court and the sight of her father or of his sixth queen.

On the 28th of January, 1547—Elizabeth was thirteen the previous 7th of September—her father died, and she became a member of the household of the widowed Queen, Katherine Parr. Jane Seymour's son, a lad of ten, ascended the throne as Edward VI., dominated by his mother's people, chief among whom were her brothers, Edward and Thomas Seymour.

Edward made himself Duke of Somerset, chief controller alike of the State, and, as Lord Protector, of the person of the young monarch. Thomas became a baron and Lord High Admiral. Both suddenly became very wealthy, but quarrelled over the spoils, and Thomas devised a scheme that he hoped would redress the balance : to marry the King's sister, the thirteen-year-old Elizabeth.

From this vantage point he had every chance of success, especially if Elizabeth, whose rights to the succession had been restored, should come to the throne—a very probable event. So the Admiral proposed to Elizabeth, some thirty days after her father's death. That by thus bringing her into his conspiracy he endangered her life was nothing to him. His ultimate intentions are made clear by the fact that some four days after he was rejected by Henry's daughter, he was paying addresses to Henry's widow, to whom he proposed with such charm and ardour that Katherine, who had already buried

three husbands, seems to have been led to the altar thirty-four days after the death of her last ! The bridegroom proceeded to celebrate this success by renewing his attentions to the girl who had so recently refused him, and who was now a guest in his house at Chelsea.

Seymour has come down to us with the reputation of exceptional beauty, and from what we know of his character we cannot doubt that he proposed to take full advantage of his attractions and the opportunities of continuous propinquity to get Elizabeth irretrievably into his power. He habitually ran into her room in the morning, whether or not she were still in bed. Upon these occasions he might be in his night apparel or dressing-gown. If she were about the room, he seems to have slapped her playfully, or, if she had not left her couch, he would pretend to get under the covers. At other times, when she heard him coming, she would run to her women, and then return with them to engage in a sort of hide-and-seek.

It seems clear that the girl was never alone with Seymour upon any of these occasions, and that her attendants saw to it that there was no real danger for her. Her governess, however, Katherine Ashley, determined to forestall any misunderstandings, and threatened to inform the Council.

Seymour laughed and acted the part of the innocent big brother, which might have disposed of the matter for all time had his character not been notorious ; but the agitated governess, who well knew the danger she herself would run in the event of any *contretemps*, took the story to the lady most interested, the Admiral's new wife, who, while saying that she saw no harm in the proceedings, thereafter accompanied her spouse upon these pleasant visits, except upon one occasion when she appears to have been too tardy, for by the time she reached Elizabeth's apartment, Katherine, to quote her own words, found her husband " having her (Elizabeth) in his arms." There was, however, no greater guilt than these words exactly state ; but the young lady went to live elsewhere, although she and her former hostess remained upon the best of terms until the death of the latter, three months later.

Thus freed, the Admiral again sought marriage with the princess, whose affections would appear to have been really intrigued ; but she was now more wary and circumspect, and

4 PRIVATE CHARACTER OF QUEEN ELIZABETH

although he had gained the active aid of her cofferer (steward) Parry, of Katherine Ashley, her governess, who was a distant relative through her husband who was of the Boleyn family, and of some others of Elizabeth's household, he seems to have been unable even to see her before the Protector threw him, his chief supporters, and all of his friends in the entourage of Elizabeth, including Ashley and Parry, into the Tower, while the princess, treated as one of the conspirators, was confined to Hatfield, under the charge of a representative of the King's Council, Sir Robert Tyrwhit, and his wife.

The surest legal machinery in the control of the Throne was set in motion against the Lord High Admiral, namely a Bill of Attainder, one of Henry VIII.'s murderous inventions. The proceeding was for the Throne to introduce a Bill in Parliament declaring the accused guilty. After three readings the Bill was declared passed, and the axe completed the incident. There was no trial of any description. The accused was not permitted to make any defence, and the arrangement worked so smoothly that in two years alone its author had little difficulty in applying it with entire success to at least thirty gentlemen whom the bluff monarch decided should no longer be of the earth earthy.

In the case of the Lord High Admiral, the House of Lords passed the Bill the day it was presented, the attempted alliance with Elizabeth being one of its most prominent clauses supporting the charge of High Treason.

Then, having deprived Elizabeth of every friend and adviser, Somerset sought to entrap her into testimony that would incriminate the Admiral by proving a contract of marriage with her. The task was delegated to Tyrwhit, under the constant direction of the Protector, and they were not lacking in diligence. Every conceivable device was adopted; Tyrwhit threatened and cajoled; a formal commission took her evidence and put her under severe cross-examination; but all in vain.

Then Tyrwhit tried a false letter. It was to be shown to the princess with great apparent danger to himself which might induce her to confide further in him as a true friend. We have his report of his success. The first sentence covers the matter: "Plesyth yt yowr Grace to be advertysed, that I hav shewed my Lady your Letter, with a grett Protestacyone that I wold

My Lorde your great gentleness, and good wil toward me as wel in this thinge as in other
thinges I do understande, for the wiche even as I oughte, so I do give you most humble than-
kes. And whereas your lordshipe willet and counsellith me as a earnest frende to declare
what I knowe in this matter, and also to write what I have declared to Master Trivet
I shal most willingly do it. I declared vnto him first that after that the Cosenar had
declared vnto me what my Lorde Admiral answered for Alins matter, and for Duram
place, that it was appointed to be a munte, he tolde me that my Lorde Admiral did offer
me his house for my time beinge with the Kinges Maestie. And further sayd and
asked me whether if the counsel did consente that I shulde haue my Lord Admiral
wether I wolde consente to it or no. I answered that I wolde not tel him what my
munde was, and I inquired further of him what he mente to aske me that ques-
tion or who bad him say so, he answered me and said no bodye bad him say so,
but that he persued (as he thooth) by my Lorde Admirals inquiringe wether
my patente were sealed or no, and debainge what he spent in his house, and
inquiringe what was spent in my house, that he was giuen that way rather

not for a 1000*l.* to be knowne off yt ; . . . notwythstandyng, I canne not frame her to all Ponets, as I wold wych yt to be.” * But Elizabeth expressed to Tyrwhit her appreciation of this great favour !

It was a contest between the craftiest and most unscrupulous men in the Kingdom, their wits sharpened by the knowledge that failure might mean their death, and a maid who had passed her fifteenth birthday four months before. So far the Protector had been unsuccessful. But he had one more card in reserve—usually a winning card when the opponent is a woman—Tyrwhit informed Elizabeth it was common rumour that she was with child by the Admiral.

There they overplayed their hand. The young girl saw it and at once wrote the following very remarkable letter to the Protector, part of which we reproduce in exact facsimile.† To facilitate reading, the spelling is usually modernized :

“ My Lord, Your great Gentleness and good Will towards me, as well in this Thing as in other Things, I do understand, for the which, even as I ought, so do I give you most humble Thanks ; and whereas your Lordship willeth and counselleth me, as an earnest Friend, to declare what I know in this Matter, and also to write what I have declared to Master Tyrwhit, I shall most willingly do it. I declared unto him first, that, after the Cofferer had declared unto me what my Lord Admiral answered for Allen’s Matter, and for Durham Place, (that it was appointed to be a Mint,) he told me that my Lord Admiral did offer me his House for my Time being with the King’s Majestie ; and further said, and asked me, whether if the Council did consent that I should have my Lord Admiral, whether I would consent to it or no : I answered that I would not tell him what my Mind was. And I inquired further of him what he meant to ask me that question, or who bade him say so : He answered me and said nobody bade him say so, but that he perceived (as he thought) by my Lord Admiral’s inquiring whether my Patent were sealed or no, and debating what he spent in his House, and inquiring what was spent in my House, that he was given that way rather than otherwise. And as concerning Kate Ashley, she never advised me unto it, but said always (when any talked of my Marriage) that she

* Tyrwhit to the Protector, Haynes, *State Papers*, i. 88.

† Hatfield MS.

would never have me marry, neither in Inglande nor out of Inglande, without the Consent of the Kinge's Majestie, your Grace's, and the Council's. And after the Quene was departed, when I asked of her what News she heard from London, she answered merrily, 'They say there that your Grace shall have my Lord Admiral, and that he will come shortly to woo you.' And moreover I said unto him, (Tyrwhit), that the Cofferer sent a letter hither, that my Lord said that he would come this Way, as he went down to the Country. Then I bade her write as she thought best, and bade her shewe it to me when she had done; so she wrote that she thought it not best, for fear of suspicion, and so it went forth. And my Lord Admiral, after he had heard that, asked of the Cofferer why he might not come as well to me as to my Sister: And then I desired Kate Ashley to write again (lest my Lord might think that she knew more in it than he) that she knew nothing in it, but suspicion. And also I told Master Tyrwhit that to the Effect of the Matter I never consented unto any such Thing, without the Council's Consent thereunto. And as for Kate Ashley or the Cofferer, they never told me that they would practice it. These be the Things which I both declared to Master Tyrwhit, and also whereof my Conscience beareth me Witness, which I would not for all earthly Things offend in any Thing; for I know that I have a Soul to save, as well as other Folks have, wherefore I will above all Things have Respect unto this same. If there be any more Things which I can remember, I will either write it myself, or cause Master Tyrwhit to write it. Master Tyrwhit and others have told me that there goeth rumours Abroad which be greatly both against my Honor and Honestie (which above all other things I esteem), which be these; that I am in the Tower; and with Child by my Lord Admiral. My Lord, these are shameful Schandlers, for the which, besides the great Desire I have to see the King's Majestie, I shall most heartily desire your Lordship that I may come to the Court after your first Determination; that I may show myself there as I am. Written in haste, from Hatfield this 28th of January. (1549.)

"Your assured Friend to my little Power,

"ELIZABETH."

Here is nothing of the innocent, yielding, fearful child. The letter is plainly the work of a mature mind, a logical thinker and a shrewd controversialist, as good in attack as in defence. The writer, her age considered, was a genius.

Who could improve her opening?—First, Thanks for his expressed goodwill; second, since in the guise of her friend he had urged her to write to him what she knew in this matter, she was most willing to do so.

The Protector, when he read thus far, knew that he would need all his skill to overreach this young girl. She was not hastening to write any explanations or excuses. She only wrote when he advised it, and what is of greater importance, she told him so. And then, without a wasted word, she puts before him her version of what she had told Tyrwhit—and the Protector found himself touched with his own blade. He had opened the correspondence when he would have been justified in proceeding upon the basis of Tyrwhit's report. This avenue was now closed to him, and he himself had supplied her with the opportunity to bar it.

Her cofferer asked her, she writes, whether, *if the council did consent*, would she marry the Lord Admiral? She replied that she would not tell him, but she did want to know what he meant by asking her such a question—and *Who bade him* ask it? The only reply he dared make was that he “thought” this out of his own head because the Admiral had asked him how much Elizabeth's income was.

As for her governess, Kate Ashley, not only had she never advised the match, but always said “that she would never have me marry, neither in Inglande nor out of Inglande, *without the consent of the Kinge's Majestie, your Grace's, and the Council's.*” There is the fine hand of woman in that crafty answer; in those few words she defended Kate, declared for the second time on the same page that the necessity of the *Council's consent* was before her when it was a question of her marriage, and then, by adding that Kate had asseverated that the *consent of the Protector* was also a condition precedent to any such ceremony, the young princess made a bid for *his* favour by implying that his individual consent was required, although she knew that it was not. Could more adroitness be shown in the same number of words?

Then she describes how her cofferer sent word that the Admiral would come to see her, whereupon she told her governess to write such a reply as she thought best, *but to show it to Elizabeth before it went!* Here we see caution

and canniness which seems no mere girl's, but that of a man long experienced in affairs who had been betrayed by friend and subordinate until at last he would trust nobody. By forty, men and women have mostly arrived at this state—but what other example of such precautions at fifteen? And then there is the further point that Elizabeth requests Mistress Kate to compose the letter. Here is the working of the mind of the natural or trained administrator—the principal gains the help of the assistant's ideas, while learning the real tendencies of the latter when not influenced by instructions; and when the Admiral persists, she herself dictates the letter that ends the proposal. Could a monarch who had been reigning for half a century have shown more understanding?

Now she adds again, making the third occasion upon one sheet, that she would never give any consideration to a marriage *without the Council's consent!* Wise young lady! That—the *Council's consent*—was the danger-point, for by her father's will failure to procure it precluded her from succeeding.*

This brings us to the most remarkable portion of this most remarkable letter—the single sentence in which Elizabeth calls attention to the rumours against her honour: “that I am in the Tower, and with child by my Lord Admiral.”

In the six succeeding words—“My Lord, these are shameful Schandlers,” she denies the charge, and then only adds, “for the which, besides the great Desire I have to see the King's Majestie, I shall most heartily desire your Lordship that I may come to the Court after your first Determination; that I may show myself there as I am.”

Could such a charge, whether made justly or not, have been better handled? This is eminently a practical person. There is not a superfluous word—not a word wasted in lamentation, in protestation, in denunciation, in justification. There are no hysterics, no appeals to heaven, no panic, no false modesty;

* Henry's will contained this provision: [In default of issue to Mary, then] “the said Imperial Crowne, and other the Premisses shall holly remayn and cum to our sayd Doughter Elizabeth, and to the Heires of her Body lawfully begotten, upon Condition that our sayd Doughter Elizabeth, after our Deceasse, shall not mary, nor take any Personne to (be) her Husbande, without the assent and Consent of the Privy-Counsaillers, and others appointed by us to be of Counsaill with our sayd dearest Sonne Prince Edward. . . .”—Hereditary Right of the Crown, etc.—*Gentleman*, London, 1713, Appendix, p. xlviii.

and all will perceive the fine employment of the address for emphasis immediately she states the infamous charges: "My Lord, these are shameful Schandlers." The effect is almost that of an oath.

But there is no reliance upon her mere assertion. She is already a woman. "So they say I am with child, do they?—well, let me come to Court at the first possible moment, where all can see me and watch me. That is the answer I have to make to these slanderers." There spoke the mind of the brave, fearless girl who had been betrayed by her friends. She asked for nothing but that the truth be made known beyond any cavil. She would not shrink from meeting the Court every day during her residence, even though well aware that the ladies knew why she came and knew that *she* knew it.

Her response and challenge was brave indeed, but it will escape no reader's attention that the most significant thing is that she ever made it—that she had the requisite knowledge to make it, for she was only just past her fifteenth birthday—and used it boldly, openly, and confidently, at an age when most English maidens of her years know nothing of physical fundamental facts. What is more, Elizabeth possessed this knowledge even at an earlier period.

The following letter, written in July, 1548, will sufficiently demonstrate the fact. Elizabeth is addressing Katherine Parr about a month before that lady's death from the confinement to which the girl of fourteen so nonchalantly refers. The letter, partly burned, is now published exactly for the first time. Although the valedictory clause and signature are wanting, the hand that wrote the letter is indisputably that of Elizabeth, at fourteen years of age!

* "Although your hithnys letters be most joyfull to me in absens, yet consyderinge what paine hit ys to you to write your grace beinge so great with childe, and so sikely your comendacyon wer ynough in my Lordes lettar. I muche rejoyce at your helthe with the wel likinge of the country, with my humbel thanks that your grace wissshed me with you til I ware wery of that cuntrye, your hithnys were like to be combered if I shulde not depart tyl I were w . . . (weary) beinge with you, although

* Otho C. X. 236 verso. Cf. Hearne's *Sylloge Epist.*, etc., 165; Strickland, *Katherine Parr*, 456 of Bohn's Hist. Lib.

hit were in the worst soile in the wor . . . (world) your presence wolde make it pleasant. I can not reprove my Lo . . . (Lord for) not doinge your comendacyons in his lettar for he did hit : and al . . . (although) he had not, yet I wil not coplaine on him for that he shalbe dilige . . . (diligent to) give me knolege from time to time how his busy childe dothe, a . . . (and if) I were at his birth no dowl I wolde se him beaton for the trobe . . . (trobel he has) put you to. Master Denny and my Lady with humbel th . . . (thanks) prayeth most intirely for your grace praigne the almyghtty God to sende . . . (you a most) lucky deliverance. And my mystres wisseth no les giv . . . (giving your hithnys) most humbel thankes for her comendacions. Wri . . . (Written with little) leysor this last day of July." *

. . . (Your humble daughter),
 . . . (ELIZABETH).

But Elizabeth's offer to come to Court where it could be seen whether she were or were not with child, was not accepted, and the inquiry shifts to her steward and governess.

The steward soon lost confidence and confessed all he had heard ; and then Kate Ashley, confronted with his admissions, succumbed too ; and the tale was out. Thus armed, the hunters turned upon the prey with these signed statements ; but Elizabeth was not to be stampeded into losing her head, and Tyrwhit had to report : " At the redyng off Mestrys Acshlay's Letter, she was mych abashed, and halffe Brethles, or she could rede yt to a ende ; and parussed all ther Namys partsyly, and knewe both Mrs. Aschlay's Hand, and the Cofferer's with halff a Seygt ; . . ." †

There Elizabeth exhibited all the caution and device of the man of fifty ! She would spend time on the signatures while she reflected, and regained the control that was upset when these terribly humiliating confessions were thrust into her face in the sight of the two spies ! They should not see her lips tremble or hear her voice shake—not a word did she utter until the elaborate by-play had enabled her to benefit by the delay ; and then she trusts herself only to denounce the hapless steward : ‡ " . . . she seyng that she called hym false Wretche,

* For further particulars of this letter, see Appendix, note 3.

† Tyrwhit to Protector, 5th January, 1549, Haynes, vol. i. pp. 94-5:

‡ Tyrwhit to Protector, Haynes, vol. i. p. 102.

and syd that he had promysed he wold never confesse yt to Deyth. . . ." "I wyll," Tyrwhit continued, "tomorrow travell all I cane, to frame her for her owne surty, and to utter the Trowth."

He did "travell" to his limits, but nothing transpired, and he sends this new document with the report that he regrets that it * " . . . ys not so full of Matter as I wold yt war. . . . They (Kate and the cofferer) all synge onne Songe, and so I thynke they wuld not do unles they had sett the Nott befor . . . or ells they could not so well agree."

The Protector was beaten, but he persisted—against the most vehement protestations of Elizabeth—in the supersession of Ashley by Mrs. Tyrwhit, as the next document we quote will intimate. It is from Elizabeth to the Protector, and dated a month later than that of the above report from Tyrwhit.

To facilitate reading, the spelling is modernized : †

"My Lord Having received your lordship's letters, I perceive in them your good will towards me, because you declare to me plainly your mind in this thing, and again for that you would not wish that I should do anything that should not seem good unto the council, for the which thing I give you my most hearty thanks. And whereas, I do understand, that you do take in evil part the letters that I did write unto your lordship, I am very sorry that you should take them so, for my mind was to declare unto you plainly, as I thought, in that thing which I did, also the more willingly, because (as I write to you) you desired me to be plain with you in all things. And as concerning that point that you write, that I seem to stand in mine own wit, it being so well assured of mine own self, I did assure me of myself no more than I trust the truth shall try ; and to say that which I know of myself I did not think should have displeased the counsel or your Grace. And, surely, the cause why that I was sorry that there should be any such about me, was because that I thought the people will say that I deserved, through my lewd demeanour, to have such a one, [As Lady Tyrwhit as governess] and not that I mislike anything that your lordship, or the council, shall think good, for I know that you and the council are charged with me, or that I take upon

* Confession of the Lady Elezabeyth's Grace, *idem*, p. 102.

† The letter is partly reproduced in facsimile opposite, p. 18, *postea*, in Chapter II.

me to rule myself, for I know that they are most deceived that trusteth most in themselves, wherefore I trust that you shall never find that fault in me, to the which thing I do not see that your Grace has made any direct answer at this time, and seeing they make so evil reports already shall be but an increasing of these evil tongues. Howbeit, you did write 'that if I would bring forth any that had reported it, you and the council would see it redressed,' which thing, though I can easily do it, I would be loth to do, because it is mine own cause; and, again, that it should be but abridging of an evil name of me that am glad to punish them, and so get the evil will of the people, which thing I would be loth to have. But if it might seem good to your lordship, and the rest of the council, to send forth a proclamation into the countries that they refrain their tongues, declaring how the tales be but lies, it should make both the people think that you and the council have great regard that no such rumours should be spread of any of the king's majesty's sisters, (as I am, though unworthy,) and also that I should think myself to receive such friendship at your hands as you have promised me, although your lordship hath shewed me great already. Howbeit, I am ashamed to ask it any more, because I see you are not so well minded thereunto. And as concerning that you say that I give folks occasion to think, in refusing the good to uphold the evil, I am not of so simple understanding, nor I would that your Grace should have so evil an opinion of me that I have so little respect of my own honesty, that I would maintain it if I had sufficient promise of the same, and so your Grace shall prove me when it comes to the point. And thus I bid you farewell, desiring God always to assist you in all your affairs. Written in haste. From Hatfelde, this 21st of February.

"Your assured friend, to my little power,
"ELIZABETH." *

This letter may be said to conclude the correspondence. The end of the Affair was the cutting off of the Admiral's head, and the issue of the proclamation requested by Elizabeth which formally denied the truth of the scandal. There appears no evidence that anybody then, or subsequently, really thought Elizabeth guilty of more than has been described, and, so far as her morals are concerned, we may now disregard the occurrence. One thought, however, cannot fail to present itself—that the truly awful experience with Seymour was a

* Lansd. MS., 1236, fol. 33, B.M.

profound factor in fostering in Elizabeth that intense dislike and distrust of the marriage state, which she denounced even at the age of eight, and which never abated. This most dangerous scandal, the fate of her mother, that of Lady Jane Grey, the consequences of her sister Mary's marriage to Philip II., and the life of her father, may well lead us to the belief that matrimony was of all institutions the one most justly feared by Elizabeth both as an individual and as a queen.

In leaving the Seymour Affair, it should be said that there are several documents which we have not quoted ; but we believe nothing of importance has been omitted, except perhaps the following in the memoir of the Duchess of Feria, a contemporary, and one of the bitterest enemies Elizabeth as queen ever had :

" In King Edward's time what passed between the Lord Admiral, Sir Thomas Seymour, and her Doctor Latimer preached in a sermon, and was a chief cause that the Parliament condemned the Admiral. There was a bruit of a child born and miserably destroyed, but could not be discovered whose it was ; only the report of the mid-wife, who was brought from her house blindfold thither, and so returned, saw nothing in the house while she was there, but candle light ; only, she said, it was the child of a very fair young lady. There was a muttering of the Admiral and this lady, who was then between fifteen and sixteen years of age. If it were so, it was the judgment of God upon the Admiral ; and upon her, to make her ever after incapable of children. . . . The reason why I write this is to answer the voice of my countrymen in so strangely exalting the lady Elizabeth, and so basely depressing Queen Mary." *

It is hardly necessary to refer further to this account. Everybody will at once recognize, with only the variation of the unfortunate victim's identity, probably the most ancient tradition with which children in all countries have alternately been made to shudder and marvel. The promulgator of this version, apparently one of its latest appearances, should, however, have been a little more careful before ascribing it to Elizabeth, for that lady has left it on record that the story was that she was with child, not that she had had one. We may safely leave these two versions to those responsible for them,

* *Life of Jane Dormer*, Duchess of Feria (ascribed to Henry Clifford, a member of her household), London, 1887, p. 86.

as did Napoleon at St. Helena when confronted with two English journals, one of which stated that he had seduced his sister, while the other charged him with being incompetent. Napoleon could not discover that he himself was really concerned.

But to recur to the letter of 21st of February, 1549,* just printed *in extenso*. We contend that it shows signs of greater ability than anything written by any other person of similar age in all the records of history. It can only be compared with the previous letter of 28th January, which we have already examined in detail.

This later letter exhibits the profoundest aptitude for, and practice in, the technicalities of the science of logic. To its careful analysis we commend every reader, only now calling his attention to one phrase :

“ I would be loth to have the ill will of the people.” Why ? What difference would that make to this young girl of fifteen ?

We can have little doubt of what was in her mind. She was looking to the future when she might ascend the throne of her brother ; and not that alone ; she was even at this early day so ordering her life as to remove every obstacle (no matter how insignificant) in her path to that goal ! These words admit of no other construction. Do we not know that it was said that once Katherine Parr had told her, “ I believe that you are destined by heaven to be the Queen of England ” ? Probably she repeated it again and again, as almost certainly did scores of others. It was the common belief.

Above all, it was the common hope. She represented the aspirations of her people—and we may be sure that they did not fail to tell her so—she who was reputed to be endowed with inherent genius, profound knowledge, and an insatiable avidity for its acquisition—between whom and the throne stood only an invalid boy and a spinster sister of bad health, fragile, unattractive, and nearly double her own age. Can there be any doubt of the eventual effect of these statements upon such a receptive, calculating, reflective, ambitious mind as that possessed by Elizabeth ? Are we to suppose that after having these prophecies and circumstances dinned into her ears from every side—by every Protestant who already looked to her to

* MS, Lansd., Brit. Mus., 1236, fol. 33.

restore his faith which it was foreseen would suffer when Catholic Mary succeeded Protestant Edward; and by every Catholic who hoped that she, when Mary came to die, would be the bulwark of *his* faith—are we to suppose that in the face of all these constant suggestions, this precocious girl did not weigh the chances of their fulfilment?—this girl who (to quote Wriothesley, the future Lord Chancellor) at six years of age appeared and conducted herself “with as great a gravitie, as she had been 40 years old”;* this girl, who, several years later—five years or so before she came to the throne—according to Chapuys, the Imperial ambassador, “almost governed everything” in England. Do we think for a moment that she did not notice that Edward was not strong and very likely soon to die? Do we think her so heedless as not to observe that Mary, who would succeed Edward, was already nearly thirty-five, broken in health, unmarried, and with no suitor for whom she seemed to care? Are we to suppose that the younger girl did not go further, and, possessed as we know she was of the most intimate facts of life and of the physical condition of her sister, the full particulars of which the reader will soon master, conclude that the chances were that Mary even if she were to marry would probably never have children?

We are forced to determine in the face of these letters that even at this early period nothing escaped their author that concerned her present or her future. Elizabeth was ordering her daily life with the one object of obtaining and retaining the

* *Hearne's Sylloge Epistolarum*, 149. Wriothesley visited Mary and Elizabeth in December, 1539, three months after Elizabeth's sixth birthday, at Hertford Castle. The part of Wriothesley's report dealing with Elizabeth is as follows: “I went then to my lady Elizabeth's Grace, and to the same made the King's Majestie's most hearty commendations, declaring that his Highnes desired to hear of her health, and sent her his blessing. She gave humble thanks, enquiring after his Majestie's welfare, and that with as great a gravitie, as she had been 40 years old. If she be no worse educated than she now appeareth to me, she will prove of no less honor and womanhood than shall beseeem her father's daughter. . . .” [This is probably the exact wording of Wriothesley. Certainly it is the wording of Hearne, the authority upon which all the later versions apparently have had to be based, owing to the burning of so much of the original as contained the reference to Elizabeth; and nobody has ever cast any doubts upon Hearne's exactness in copying. The MS. fragment—part of one page—still in existence—is Otho C. X., 272 old number, 274 present number, B.M. MS. R. Miss Strickland's *Elizabeth* (Everyman Ed., p. 11), quoting for sole authority State Papers, 30th Henry VIII. as authority, makes the last clause read “she will prove of no less honour than beseeemeth her father's daughter,” while her authority gives the phrase as “she will be an honour to womankind.”]

throne of her fathers. In a word, she entered the whirlpool of politics at fifteen. Had we time to linger, we should see her daily playing her hand in that tremendous game.

Deeply, however, as she was involved in it by the Seymour Affair, the severest trials of her whole life, its most dangerous situations and most delicate decisions, ensued in the ten years or so which were yet to elapse before she became Queen.

All through those long years, from her fifteenth to her twenty-fifth year, the most formulative and impressionable of her career, she was in the very centre of English politics, and for the greater part of that period was the very hub about which the entire governmental system revolved.

We must give due weight to these tremendous factors, for only by their comprehension can we realize that, altogether apart from Elizabeth's education through books, it was a most astute and successful politician, schooled by long years of danger to her succession and to her life itself, exercised in almost daily negotiations with the most ambitious and most unscrupulous men and women, who at the age of twenty-five ascended the throne.

If great events were dependent upon the personality of the head of England, surely no other country at such a time of crisis ever had a monarch so well endowed and trained in the art of statecraft by actual experience to enter upon the scene with nearly fifty years of life yet remaining to institute and complete that which Providence had decreed.

CHAPTER II

ELIZABETH'S HIGHLY TRAINED MIND

THE contention that Elizabeth was the most potent human instrument that ever wielded the forces of England is supported by the knowledge that she was not only a genius, but, as we shall directly see, a highly-trained one, as well.

As to the former, if we had no more than her letters to the Protector, it would be evident that the girl was possessed of this rarest of qualities which is vouchsafed to the world in its rulers no oftener than once or twice in a thousand years. From Alexander there is none to Cæsar, from Cæsar we must leap to Constantine, from him to Elizabeth, and from Elizabeth to Napoleon—and from Napoleon to—whom? It will probably be at least five hundred years before the world will learn his name.

There can be no more doubt that Elizabeth was a youthful prodigy than of the truth of such a description of William Wootton, Newton's friend and Swift's doughty antagonist, who was reading Greek and Latin at five, Hebrew at six, and had by then mastered Homer, Virgil, Pythagoras, Terence, and Corderius—who had his B.A. from Cambridge at twelve, was a Fellow of St. John's, Cambridge, at fifteen, and a F.R.S. before he was twenty-one; of John Stuart Mill who had mastered the chief Greek authors by eight, the Latin ones by twelve, had written, at that age, a history of the government of Rome, and other histories before he was seven, not to mention a knowledge of higher mathematics, logic, classical literature, and political economy by thirteen.

Yet none of the early works of these masters shows greater range of ability, or more variety of power—indeed, they utterly lack the executive, administrative, combative, practical sense so prominent in the princess's—than shines out so forcibly in

these epistles of Elizabeth, although they were written under the greatest mental stress and with the greatest responsibility attaching to every word. It cannot be too often repeated that no more desperate, shameful, cruel, malicious, and critical situation ever faced Elizabeth at any time in her long life than in the case we have considered—and the most important fact of all is this : that there was not a friend to advise her. The only guides available were hostile gaolers who were doing their utmost to force her to write some word that would bring herself and her most intimate friends to the direst punishment.

But before leaving this question of Elizabeth's possession of the most extraordinary native mental equipment, let us glance once again at these letters of Elizabeth, to observe something to which historians have only incidentally referred, namely, to their handwriting. To consider it more closely, we recur to the very remarkable communication to the Protector of the 21st of February, 1549, in Chapter I. We reproduce the first and last of it, in the exact size of chirography as it was set down.

Elizabeth was then fifteen and a half years of age. How many of our readers have ever known any one so young who could turn out such a piece of penmanship ?

Any student of handwriting, even the most casual, will at once notice that, looked at as a whole, the extract is beautiful. There is not even one letter standing out to attract the eye. The same character is repeated in every detail, even in slant or angle from the perpendicular. In particular, there is the uniform construction of the w by two strokes, a fact that almost escapes one. Then, too, with what great care and uniformity the cross of the t *never* passes the perpendicular, but is always confined to the right of it !—a supreme test in the view of the handwriting expert. There is also the ornamentation of certain letters in graceful and pretty scroll-work, complete uniformity of distance between the different lines, their straightness, and the undeviating margin to the left in the absence of any guiding marks.

There is little room for variation in judgment in interpreting the character indications of such graphology.* There is no

* An exceptionally authoritative, simple, and practical work which we have often employed, is *How to read Character in Handwriting*, by Henry Frith, London, 1890.

My lorde haimoe refende your lordships letters I perceive in them your goodwill towards
me because you declare to me plainly your mynde in this thinge and againe for that you
wolde not wyshe that I shulde do any thinge that shulde not seme good unto the counsell
for the wiche thinge I give you most hartie thanks. And whereas I do understande
that you do take much parte the letters that I did write unto your lordships I am
verye sorye that you shulde take them so for my mynde was declared unto you plainly
lie as I thought in that thinge wiche I did doo the more willingly because as I write
to you you desired me to be plain with you in all thinges. And as concerning
that point that you write that I seme to stande in my none write in beuge so well
assured of my none selfe I did assure me of my selfe no more than I trust the truth
shal trie, And to say that wiche I knewe of my selfe I did not thinke shulde have
displeased the counsell or your grace. And surely the cause whie that I was sorye
that ther shulde be anye suche aboute me was because that I thought the people wyl say
that I deserved throwth my fewde elemence to have suche a one, and not that I mislike
anye thinge that your lordships or the counsell shal thinke good for I knowe that you
and the counsell are charged with me, or that I tak upon me to rule my selfe for I knowe
we the are most disceined that trusteth most in them selves, wherefore I trust you shal
I do not se that your grace has

your grace shulde have so incl a opinion of me that I have so litel respecte
to my none honestie that I wolde manie me it if I had sufficiente promys
of the same, and so your grace shal prone me whan it comes to the pomite.
And thus I bid you farewel, desiringe god alway to assiste you in al your
affaires. Written in haste. Frome Hatfelde this 21 of February.

Your assured frende to my litel
power

Elizabeth

Good ill-maker. Keeper and guider: Inuement of thy rare-seene, ynuled and secked
heard-of goodnes, powred in so plentiful sort vpon vs full oft; breeds now this
boldnes, to craue with bowed knees, and heartes of humilitie, thy large hande
of helping power, to assist with wonder oure iust cause, not founded on vides-motion
nor begun on Malice-stock; But as thou best knowest, to whome naught is hid,
grounded on iust defence from wronges, hate, and bloody desyre of conquest. For since
meanes thou hast imparted to haue that thou hast giuen, by enioying such a people, as
somes their blood shed, where iustie oure is due: Fortifie hearts (and) such heartes
in such sort, as their best part may be worst, that to the truest part meant worst
with least losse to such a Nation, as despise their liues for their Countreys good.
That all Eternie Landes may laud and admire the Omnipotency of thy worke:
a fact alone for thee only to performe. So shall thy name be spread for wonders wrought
and the faithfull encouraged, to repose in thy vnsorrowed grace: And wee that mynded
nought but right, melamed in thy bondes for perpetuall slavery, and line and eye
the sacrificers of oure soules for such obtayned fauour. Warrant, Deare Lord
all this with thy command.

When



37
(more than euer i did) i do confesse,
that i haue brolzen myne othe, and
promesse. Alas thou haddest cho
sen me for thy wife. and didest sett
me vp in great dignitie, and hon
noure. (For what greater hōnour
may one haue than to be in the
place of thy wife, wich swittely ta
keth reste nere to the) of all thy
goodes, quene, maistres, and lady
and also in suretie, both of body
and soule. i so vile a creature, be
ynge ennoblised by the. Nowe
(to tell the truth) i had more, and
better than any man can desyre.

osca. 2.

escape from the conclusion that a girl of under sixteen who could produce such a manuscript was exceedingly painstaking, even to the smallest detail, that she was remarkably methodical, confident, conscientious, calm, and persevering, that she was capable of complete concentration to the task immediately in hand, and that her character tended to firmness, evenness, placidity, and steady, strong, determined action. Everywhere is the unmistakable stamp of the individual who has learned the great lesson of successful work—to do with all might what is next to be done.

The large flourishing signature—never altered thereafter—closing the document, discovers the pronounced egotist, the firm believer in her position, in herself, and in her exalted rank—and it is of the very greatest and most definite importance that to the very last decade of her life, Elizabeth could and did write MS. not only as beautiful as this one, but as plainly and unmistakably showing every trait displayed in it—this, although her late MSS. are usually undecipherable scrawls. A glance at the facsimile, a prayer written at the time of the threatened Spanish invasion of 1597, nine years after the Armada, and half a century after the letter to the Lord Protector, despite its slight trembling, proves the point; and the first sentence could well have been adopted by all the Allies in the days of the Great War, the third great crisis in England's history.

But if these conclusions are important with respect to the letter to the Lord Protector, how much more do they become so when applied to the next facsimile, a representative page (31) of the hundred and twenty-eight in the bound volume wholly in her handwriting of her prose translation of the French poem by Margaret of Navarre, entitled “The Mirror of the Sinful Soul,” which Elizabeth offers to Queen Katherine Parr as a New Year's gift “From asherige the laste daye of the yeare of our lord god, 1544”—when Elizabeth was of the age of *eleven and three months*!

Every trait of character and indication of mental development that so indubitably stands out in the handwriting of the Lord Protector letter is present, with substantially equivalent force, in the earlier volume—with the single exception of the artistic element, which, although evident, is less conspicuous.

The elaborate scroll-work of the later composition is altogether missing—but the tendency to such things is clearly apparent in the devices employed to fill out the spaces unoccupied by letters at the end of nearly half the lines. In the other pages of the work, the use of the pear-shaped figure for this purpose is much more frequent.

This priceless volume is, so far as anybody has discovered, Elizabeth's first literary work, and, with the possible exception of a one-sheet letter * in Italian from her to Katherine Parr, is also the first handwriting of Elizabeth known to be in existence. The Italian letter is dated 31st of July, 1544, but as the larger work must have consumed many weeks, it is very probable that among its pages there are many written before that date.†

We are, apparently, the first historian or biographer of Elizabeth who has ever seen this volume, or even known of its survival, and yet it has been resting safely in the Bodleian since 1729.

The pages are contained in their original binding, which is canvas worked over in large silk thread, so carefully done that at first sight the surface has the appearance of a piece of woven cloth. Embossed upon this on the front cover is an elaborate scroll in gold and silver braid, in the midst of which are the initials of Katherine Parr. The edges are bound with gold braid, and there is a thin line in red silk at the top and bottom; while there is a heartsease embroidered in coloured silk, three of the petals of each flower being in purple, and two in yellow, with small gold thread interwoven, and a little green leaf between each two. The entire back cover is devoted to similar flowers, now so worn, however, as to be indistinct. As a piece of needlecraft the production is of the highest excellence of this or of any age—but its great and lasting importance is that it is entirely the sole work of the little Elizabeth.‡

On the eve of the New Year of 1545, one year later than

* B.M. MS., Otho C. X. 231 o.n. or 235 n.n. Mumby, in *The Girlhood of Queen Elizabeth*, p. 22, says: "The letter, which is written in elegant Italian, and preserved in the Bodleian Library. . . ." The original has never been at the Bodleian. Miss Strickland makes the same error—*vide* p. 12, vol. iii., Bohn's Hist. Lib. ed.

† The search for the first writing of the Queen became exciting. It is fully detailed in Appendix, note 2.

‡ Heywood's *England's Elizabeth*, circa 1630, especially notes the princess's skill in this art.



salut. In carne solus
sua propria persona est
passus, et in spiritu semper
per in suis electis.

Iamque quoniam in carne
eximantur fuerit, et cruci-
fixus, propter infirmi-
tatem, tamen in spiritu
nunc in virtute vivit -
grandis et potentissimus,
et in suis electis vin-
cendo labores, persequen-
tiones, obprobria, adver-
sitates, mortem, mundi
luxuriam, prudentiam -
carnalem, spiritus infer-

nales, peccata, triumphat semper
et triumphabit usque in
diem iudicii. Tunc cum
omnes suos hostes penitus -
subiicerit, et suos electos -
omnes in quietam possessione -
regni sui collocaverit, illos -
patris suo offeret sanctissimos
et triumphantes.

RARI

sunt igitur qui vere cognos-
cunt. Verum si illum cognos-
cere velis, necesse est ut scia-
as, Christum illum esse, per
quem Deus ab initio propo-

the date of the book just considered, the little girl presented another embroidered volume all of her own penmanship and needlework to Katherine Parr, the volume of prayers mentioned as being in the British Museum—a work of 233 pages, some 14,000 words. In penmanship it shows an improvement on the similar production of the preceding year, and it consists of Elizabeth's translations into Latin, French, and Italian of some prayers composed in English by Katherine.

Two years later, on the eve of 1548, the girl offered a third volume of her handwriting to her brother, the King: a translation from an Italian sermon into Latin, a most beautiful piece of penmanship, with elaborate scrolled capitals in red ink—a highly artistic work in every particular, two characteristic pages of which we exactly reproduce.

And it may be added that all through her life, whenever free from the tremendous responsibilities of her position, until she was more than sixty-five, she made translations, a number of which have been preserved, from the best Greek and Latin authors; and when, in her sixty-fourth year, an inexperienced Polish Ambassador made her a slighting speech, she turned on him with a long, angry, *extempore* torrent of Latin that not only took away his breath, but that of the listening Court; while she—how like a woman!—as soon as the gale had passed, burst out laughing with the remark “God's death, my Lords! I have been enforced this day to scour up my old Latin.”

Having thus (we may claim) established her genius, we proceed to a brief consideration of our previous statement—that Elizabeth was not only deserving of these encomiums, but, at this early age, had, besides, received what even to-day would be designated as a first-class education, including the very best training ever devised for the development of the native faculties of the brain.

The simple fact is that Henry VIII., a very learned man, a very cultured man—and again we speak in the twentieth-century sense of the terms—a master of four modern languages, as well as the classical, a musician, a composer, an author, a student of the best in ancient and modern literature, an historical scholar and an enthusiastic promoter of learning and its institutions, had decreed that his three legitimate children should have the best education that the world could then

afford ; and when we examine the steps he took to see that this determination be carried into practice, we can but conclude that they were admirably chosen.

The best teachers in England were Elizabeth's tutors, and the slightest study of their methods demonstrates that there are none to-day to excel them. Greek, Latin, French, and Italian—the two latter by those to whom those tongues were native—were mainly taught to Elizabeth by translations from each into English, then back into the original, and then oftentimes from each of the four into the remaining three ; a method of study which we have already described as the best ever devised for the development of the thinking and reasoning faculties. The most instructive of the classics were treated in this fashion, and their relative importance explained.

Correspondence between Elizabeth and Edward was conducted in Latin, French, and Italian, and they habitually spoke these tongues. The Queen, indeed, when an old woman, confided to one of the French Ambassadors that when she came to the throne she knew six foreign languages better than she did her own.*

History, astronomy, mathematics, logic, philosophy, architecture, music, poetry, were pursued indefatigably, all day long, for she was fascinated by learning ; but the particular bent of her mind is shown in the fact that it was her habit to spend at least three hours each day upon history. That was her favourite subject, for was she not to be the Queen ? She was just as certain of it when reading of the reigns of her predecessors as she was during her first serious illness when she adopted the demeanour and dress of a nun—all a part of the play, all a step to regain her lost reputation, all *preparation* for the time which was to come.

Surely it is evident that no other personage in history began so early in life to work for a throne. It was her one thought, her one ambition, her one passion long before she was fifteen years of age ; and we shall see that this fierce determination

* *Vide* Baschet Transcripts, Bundle No. 30, *Journal of M. de Maisse*, French Ambassador at London, 1597-8, at p. 241 *verso*—"She . . . said that when she came to the throne, she knew six languages better than her own, and because I said that that was a great virtue in a princess she said that there was no marvel in a woman learning to speak, but there would be in teaching her to hold her tongue."—P. R. O.

never faltered in the decade that was to intervene between the Seymour Affair and the moment when her great aim came to fruition, and she was in fact the Queen!

We leave the subject of her studies with an extract from a letter dated from St. John's College, Cambridge, the 4th of April, 1550, almost exactly a year after the death of Seymour. The writer is Roger Ascham, who appears to have had, in company with John Cheke, the superintendence of Elizabeth's education, and is addressed to John Sturm, a lifelong friend, and rector of the Protestant college at Strasburg. There can be no doubt as to the worth of the information thus transmitted. There can be no suspicion of any ulterior motive in this private communication, no expectation of favours from its subject—it is the confidence of one schoolmaster to his fellow.

* “There are many honourable ladies now who surpass Thomas More's daughters in all kinds of learning; but among all of them the brightest star is my illustrious Lady Elizabeth, the king's sister; so that I have no difficulty in finding subject for writing in her praise, but only in setting bounds to what I write. I will write nothing however which I have not myself witnessed. She had me for her tutor in Greek and Latin two years, but the foundations of her knowledge in both languages were laid by the diligent instruction of William Grindall, my late beloved friend, and seven years my pupil in classical learning at Cambridge. From this university he was summoned by John Cheke to court, where he soon received the appointment of tutor to this lady.

“After some years, when through her native genius, aided by the efforts of so excellent a master, she had made a great progress in learning, and Grindall, by his merit and the favour of his mistress, might have aspired to high dignities, he was snatched away by a sudden illness. I was appointed to succeed him in his office, and the work which he had so happily begun, without my assistance, indeed, but not without some counsels of mine, I diligently laboured to complete. Now, however, released from the Court and restored to my old literary leisure here, where by her beneficence I hold an honest place in this University. It is difficult to say whether the gifts of nature or of fortune are most to be admired in that illustrious lady. The qualities praised by Aristotle meet altogether in her—

• Cf. Letter XCIX., p. lxii. of vol. i., Ascham, *Works*, Giles, London, 1865, and the original Latin on p. 191, *idem*.

beauty of person, greatness of mind, prudence and industry, all in the highest degree. She has just passed her sixteenth birthday, and exhibits such seriousness and gentility as are unheard of in one of her age and rank. Her study of true religion and learning is most energetic. Her mind has no womanly weakness, her perseverance is equal to that of a man, and her memory long retains that which it readily grasps. She talks French and Italian as well as English: she has often talked to me readily and well in Latin, and moderately so in Greek. When she writes Greek and Latin, nothing is more beautiful than her handwriting. She is as much delighted with music as she is skilful in that art. In adornment of person she aims at elegance rather than show, and by her contempt of gold and elaborate headdress she suggests Hippolyte rather than Phædra. She read with me almost all of Cicero and a great part of Titus Livius, drawing all her knowledge of Latin from these authors. It was her habit to devote the morning to the reading of the Greek Testament, later reading select orations of Isocrates and the tragedies of Sophocles. My idea in having her pursue this course was that thereby she might gain purity of style, and her mind derive instruction that would be of value to her in confronting any contingency that might arise in life. To these I added Saint Cyprian and Melanchthon's Common Places, etc., as seemed to me to be best, next to the Holy Scriptures, to teach her at once elegant language, sound learning and the foundations of religion. In anything she reads she at once notices any obscure or wrong word. She cannot put up with those foolish followers of Erasmus who have encumbered the Latin tongue with miserable proverbs. She likes a style that grows out of the subject-matter—free from barbarisms because it is suitable, and beautiful because it is clear. She very much admires metaphors when they are not too strained, and the use of antithesis when it is warranted and may be employed with good effect. Her attention is so practiced in the discrimination of all these things, and her judgment is so sound, that in all Greek, Latin, or English prose or verse there is nothing loose on the one hand or concise upon the other that she does not at once notice it and condemn it strongly or praise it earnestly, as the case may be. I am not inventing anything, my dear Sturm; it is all true: I am only seeking to give you an outline of her most remarkable genius and assiduity.”*

* *Nihil fingo, mi Sturmi, nec opus est: sed adumbrare tantum volui tibi speciem ejus excellentis ingenii et studii.*

And the smallest understanding of Ascham indubitably convinces any careful inquirer that there was not then, and is not now, a person more competent than he to judge not only of ability, learning, and accomplishments, but of greatness of mind and soul. He was easily the first teacher of his time in England. He ranks with More, Chaucer, and Philip Sidney. He was the first to make known by his writings (if indeed he was not their inventor) modern methods of instruction. The world has added little if anything substantial to his methods of teaching, because the centuries in their passing have only served to prove that he was fundamentally correct.

To this tribute of Ascham's to Elizabeth, many might be added of similar import by other contemporaries, but this would seem tautological. We therefore hasten to lay before the reader, as briefly as possible, some salient and pregnant features of the girl's history during, and immediately following, the Seymour Affair, features which must be comprehended if we are intelligently to weigh the evidence, *pro* and *con*, for the subsequent charges against her morality. We must be enabled to picture her psychologically and historically, exactly as she appeared at twenty-five years of age, when the death of Mary broke the barriers that had kept Elizabeth from the fulfilment of that great ambition, so long the chief object of her life. We must *know* exactly what manner of woman she was, what her dominating, controlling inclinations and ambitions, her views of life, of her prerogative, and her obligations as ruler. We must, in short, know the *real* Elizabeth; for she, like all other human creatures, was an entity, a complete being, made up of many diverse traits, yet subject inexorably to the laws of psychology. We must have the whole story of Elizabeth—and we have it, at least in substance.

CHAPTER III

HEALTH FOR EVER WRECKED BY SEYMOUR AFFAIR

IT must be fully realized that so tragic an episode as the Seymour Affair, with its prolonged mental strain, its mortal dangers, its shame and mortification, must have had a most powerful effect upon Elizabeth ; but we believe that there was a still more cogent element at work upon her character—one whose influence and aspect would vary with each new year of her life, a sinister influence which could never be forgotten from the day when its presence was first perceived. To this we have so far only incidentally referred ; but it is deserving of more detailed consideration.

We allude to the history of her parents, first of all in their relations to each other. We have no records to tell us when Elizabeth discovered that there had been trouble between her father and mother. We do not even know that she, who was but two years and eight months of age when her mother was killed, recollected anything about her. Nor do we know that Elizabeth ever had any affection for her or she for her daughter ; nor that Elizabeth ever mentioned her mother, although this cannot be surprising, for she could not, of course, refer to the tragedy of the mother without reflecting upon the conduct of her father ; and whatever else Elizabeth might and did do, there is one thing that she never was tempted into betraying, and that is any disrespectful or critical attitude towards any of her predecessors upon the throne.

She was aware that the throne depended altogether upon the consent of the people. She had no army except when actually at war ; and speaking generally, there was never a time when five hundred trained soldiers could not have seized London and the Queen. A country peasant rabble had sacked

the city in 1381—and Elizabeth guarded the sanctity of her order with the most scrupulous fidelity.

This, however, cannot mean that she did not think, that she did not know, about her parents. We must believe that the story of Anne Boleyn, and the other marital details of Henry's life, came very early to the precocious girl. So much we all know from our own observation.

Let us try to put ourselves in the place of Elizabeth when first she encountered this troubling thought. Save for some overwhelming, shocking scene of farewell (of which there is no record) it is probable that Elizabeth never recollected seeing her mother. She was, however, a practical little body who thought for herself, and had an independent way; when only six years of age she made a cambric shirt for her brother, and presented it to him as her offering upon his second birthday, while all the rest of the world overloaded him with gold, silver, and precious stones. No governess or servant suggested that a princess should give that sort of present. That was the original thought of a girl child.

At any rate, we cannot believe but that the girl very early made inquiries, and very embarrassing ones. And we may be sure that she probed the mystery to the bottom. How far we are from appreciating the awful shock to which she was subjected when she was told that her mother's head had been cut off! And then she learns that her father had ordered the execution! Whose imagination can comprehend what flew through the little girl's mind at such a blow? She is told that her father married the next day; and she notices that he never speaks of her mother, and that nobody else wanted to do so. Everybody she asked to tell her of Anne Boleyn seemed to lose the power of speech at the mention of her name; and then her father did not seem to care very much about *her*—the little Elizabeth—for it was only rarely that they met. For months at a stretch she was not allowed in the palace where he lived. At times she had been left even without sufficient clothing.

What sort of a man was her father? She would see if she could find out. There is always somebody not far distant in the guise of the candid, helpful friend to tell us the unkind truths, and we may feel certain that before very long after the

little mind had begun to be suspicious of a skeleton in the closet, Elizabeth saw it for herself.

So her father had cast aside Catherine of Aragon, after she had been compelled to see him making love to Anne Boleyn for six or seven years, much of it under the single roof that sheltered the three ; and then before he had got rid of Anne, he had fallen in love with Jane Seymour, whom he had likewise moved into the palace before their nuptials. Next he had cut off Anne's head and married his Jane the following morning ; on her death a year later he had married Catherine Howard, cut off her head, and married and divorced Anne of Cleves within six months, and ended by marrying Katherine Parr whom, apparently, he had also designed to behead—truly a story with no parallel in all the ample page of time.

If it seems so to us who, nearly four hundred years afterward, read of it with no more poignant sensation than that of disgust or derision, what *must* have been the impressions of the daughter of this man who had murdered her *mother*?—a daughter, as somebody has said, not only motherless but worse than fatherless.

The effect must indeed have been tremendous. The shock of it must for ever have altered the whole outlook of the child. It must have sobered and saddened Elizabeth all through her youth, and could not have been long absent from her mind at any time in her after-life. These sad truths undoubtedly played a prominent part among the forces which now assailed and beat her down into what is most formative of character, protracted ill-health—with its introspection, its demand on patience, its melancholy, its disillusionment, its discovery of forces beyond human control ; to which we may add in the case of Elizabeth, a deep sense of shame, of wrong, and of mortification. We may be certain that a child who had such a history could not have been like an average child of average parentage. We are compelled to expect something extraordinary.

As we reflect upon these early trials, and add to them the circumstances of the Seymour Affair, wherein her life, her reputation, her future, her hopes of the throne, hung for months upon a single word from her, we are not surprised that long before her suitor paid with his head for his folly, Elizabeth

fell desperately ill. During the succeeding four years, she was, if not continuously, certainly for much of this time, in the most miserable physical and mental condition. There is besides ample evidence that for four or five years more she was subject to frequent recurrences of all its most acute physical symptoms; and then her physique, in its turn, would react upon the brain—a vicious circle that in older people often becomes insupportable.

Elizabeth's illness at this time appears to have been a complete breakdown of nerves and body. There seems little room for doubt that in these days of the early twentieth century we should be told that one so afflicted had, besides pronounced physical illness, nervous prostration—one of the most terrible diseases to which man is exposed.

Elizabeth's melancholia, with her weepings, her continuous headaches, her inability, real or imaginary, even to write a letter, the shortness of breath, the vehemence, etc., are all symptomatic of this trouble—and yet in her case, as will be later apparent, they may all have originated from certain physical diseases.

In these days we have much more medical knowledge than was at Elizabeth's service; yet it is almost impossible for the average reader to measure the ravages of diseased nerves in this practically unaided girl. Those who have suffered such tortures may alone approximate to an understanding of what Elizabeth endured. All through her after-life we may, in one symptom or another, trace the recurrences of the original attack. To take one instance; what we have always believed in, and joked about, as Elizabeth's violent temper, was not really temper at all. The famous occasions upon which she raved were but the manifestations of nerves that would no longer be restrained. There is not the slightest evidence that Elizabeth was naturally ill-tempered. The evidence is distinctly to the contrary. A gentler, sweeter, kindlier child was uncommon—so rare that contemporaries particularly noted it. But from the time of this first prolonged illness, Elizabeth was a different being. Ever after, her nerves were almost beyond her control.

From that time, too, her physical health was gone. It may be that the overwrought, diseased nerves broke down the

physique, and so exposed it to the specific infections which wrecked it, as is often the case. Our medical experts, however, would seem to incline to the view that it was a weak, sickly, anæmic physique and certain diseases and infections that compelled the nerves to give way—but whichever version be correct, there is, we believe, no difference of opinion upon the point that at this time Elizabeth's constitution was wrecked; and while at times she was later capable of withstanding—but for brief periods only—considerable bodily fatigue, it is evident that it was her spirit that supplied the motive power; and, we may add, the compelling influence, most frequently, was her love and ambition for England.

After this first attack, and usually when some fresh mental strain arose, there always followed relapse, reaction, and new illness. In a number of instances, these later illnesses were of the most desperate description, any one of which would lessen the vital force of any human frame.

She was never, during the last year of the Seymour Affair, nor subsequently, a strong girl or woman—but she never spared herself when there was anything to be done for England.

These first four years of her illness, 1548 to 1552, were the greatest crisis of her career, but we must be thankful for them; as we are sure that she was, in after-life; for, as we glance back at her, and consider what England was when she reached the throne and what it was when she surrendered it, we cannot escape the conclusion that it was for the advancement of civilization that the young girl had to undergo these hard days.

God, as we all see now, was about to bring forward the new Power that should take the first place in the world, and He was fashioning the human instruments which the task would require.

The chief of these was Elizabeth. With our little knowledge, we cannot say with certainty that Elizabeth was the *only* person who could have brought England to its world-leadership. But we know that the work was done; we believe that it was the will of God that it should be done at that time; and materials are available to demonstrate that, so far as human agencies are involved, Elizabeth did more than all the rest of

her contemporaries to bring about this gigantic turn in the world's course. Hers was the directing mind.

The Spaniard of to-day may possibly believe that the world would be better if Spain had remained in the hegemony of creation—as she undoubtedly was until challenged by Elizabeth. We of other blood believe that the Spain of to-day is the best evidence that our way is the right one, and that of Spain the wrong.

This is our faith ; and as we contemplate, at this distance of time, the woman who occupied the throne of England while the twenty-year struggle with Spain filled the eyes of the earth, we see that her childhood and youth were all a training for her gigantic task—that the desperation, the shame, the humiliation, the long suffering to which slander subjected her, the necessity of relying absolutely upon herself—a terrifying task at the time—were but the fire in which her faculties could be shaped.

We are well aware that this view of the great Queen's health will come as a surprise to our readers. Many an historical scholar will have grave doubts when these words first come to his sight. But we are content to await the outcome after he has perused the evidence that we have to offer.

One thing at least is certain—that his first surprise will not be greater than was our own when the truth unfolded itself. For we had, of course, implicit faith in everything we had read of Elizabeth's physique and nerves, as there was never the slightest controversy about it.

The real explanation is that we have had the time and the opportunity to pursue new lines of inquiry with no necessity for hurry, and that only one full, detailed life of Elizabeth has ever been written—that of Miss Strickland, a truly marvelous product of wide investigation.* It is, however, nearly a century since she wrote ; now the field has broadened, and much more extensive and intensive investigation of the matter is possible. She had to write the lives of many people ; was,

* We do not classify Dr. Creighton's small *Life of Queen Elizabeth* with the work of Miss Strickland, nor did its author ever intend that that should be done. The limits of Creighton's work are indicated by his preface : " It was impossible within my limits to do more than sketch a rough outline of a very complex personality. . . ." Professor Beesly's even smaller work is still more restricted in scope.

moreover, dependent upon her historical work for her livelihood, and therefore compelled rapidly to produce it. So there is no especial merit in adding to the information which Miss Strickland set forth.

Nor is there any need of conflict with other writers, living or dead. They have dealt with the *political* history of Elizabeth's reign, not with her *personal* history—a very different matter. This work is strictly confined to the *person* of the Queen ; a task in which our only competitor can be Miss Strickland.

The prevailing and, we may say confidently, the universal view of Elizabeth by the world at large is substantially comprehended in the following excerpt from the sketch of Elizabeth in the *Dictionary of National Biography* :

“ In person,” says the *D.N.B.*, “ Elizabeth was a little over middle height, and when she came to the throne she must have been a beautiful young woman, with a profusion of auburn hair, a broad commanding brow, and regular features. . . . Queen Elizabeth was emphatically her father's child. From him she got *her immense physical vigour, her magnificent constitution, . . . a frame which seemed incapable of fatigue, and a nervous system that rendered her almost insensible to fear or pain. Her life was the life of a man, not a woman ; she could hunt all day, dance or watch masques and pageants all night, till the knees of strong men trembled under them as they wearily watched in attendance upon her person ; yet she never seemed to suffer from the immense tension at which she lived. . . . It is not till February, 1602, that we first hear of her health beginning to fail ; when a correspondent of Sir Dudley Carleton expresses his regret at the queen's ‘ craziness.’ ”*

A moment's reflection will demonstrate to any reader his agreement with these conclusions. We might multiply them *ad infinitum* by proceeding to quote from our various predecessors, ancient, modern, and contemporary, who have referred to Elizabeth's health ; but it would only lead to useless redundancy. We therefore refer alone to the leaders among them.

Two may be taken first—one English and one French, both contemporaries of the Queen, for it has been by them, broadly speaking, that the whole world, all historians especially included, has been misled for more than three hundred years.

Camden writes :

" 1572—*The Queene also herselfe, which hitherto had enjoyed very perfect health, (for shee never eate meate but when her appetite served her, nor dranke Wine without alaying,) fell sick, of the small poxe at Hampton Court. But shee recovered again, before it was heard abroad that she was sicke.*" *

And subsequently adds :

" 1603—*The Queen, which hitherto enjoyed her sound health by reason of her abstinence from wine, and most temperate diet (which she often said was the noblest part of physicke,) being now in her Climatericall yeere, to wit, the seventyeth yeere of her age, began to be assayled with some weakenesse both of health and old age. . . .*" †

Without exception all English historical writers have respected this pronouncement as if it were Gospel.

De Thou, writing later than Camden and often quoting him, says :

" *She enjoyed perfect health up to her old age, of which she never felt any inconvenience, and she terminated, like Augustus, a very happy life with a peaceable and tranquil death.*" ‡

This is the foundation upon which all French authorities have since joined in swelling the chorus that Elizabeth was a physical Amazon, and in truth more of a man than of a woman.

Of similar import are the following authorities :

Francis Bacon—*In felicem Memoriam Elizabethæ* :

" Elizabeth was endowed *valetudo maxime prospera*." (Elizabeth was endowed "with the most excellent health") (p. 392 of vol. ii. of *Opera Omnia*, 1730 ed. Londoni).

E. S. Beesly—*Life of Queen Elizabeth* :

" Elizabeth had always enjoyed good health. In her capacity for resisting bodily fatigue and freedom from nervous ailments, she was like a man. It was not until the beginning of 1602 that those about her noticed any signs of failing strength " (p. 235 (1903)).

* Book II, p. 52, 1630 ed.

† Book IV, *idem*, p. 221.

‡ Vol. xiv. p. 146.

Carte—*Hist. of England* :

“ The queen had always enjoyed a good state of health ”
(vol. iii. p. 696).

Pollard—*The Political Hist. of England*, vol. vi. (1910).
*The History of England from the Accession of Edward VI. to
the Death of Elizabeth* :

“ A splendid physique, abstemiousness, and careful habits,
enabled her to survive by many years the usual span of royal
lives, and her health did not begin to fail till the end of 1602 ”
(p. 479).

York Powell, Regius Professor of Modern History, Oxford,
and T. P. Tout, Professor of History, Victoria University, in
their *History of England* (1900) :

“ She had a magnificent constitution, and seemed almost
incapable of fatigue. . . . In 1602 even her robust constitution
began to fail ” (p. 444).

Green :

“ Personally she had much of her mother’s charm with
more than her mother’s beauty. . . . She (was) a bold horse-
woman, a good shot, a graceful dancer. . . . ” (He appears to
make no other reference to her physique) (vol. ii. p. 286).

Nichols’s *Prog.* :

“ In September, 1572, the Queen, who had hitherto been
very healthy (never eating without an appetite, nor drinking
without some allay) fell sick of the small-pox . . . ” (vol. i. ann.
1572).

Froude :

“ At this time, Elizabeth was beautiful ; . . . The magnifi-
cent girl . . . must have presented an emphatic contrast with
the lean, childless, haggard, forlorn Mary ” (vol. vi. pp. 359-60.
Refers to 1555).

Creighton—*Life of Elizabeth* :

“ Mary must have known that the graceful figure and
youthful vivacity of Elizabeth threw into the shade her own

careworn face, grown old before its time" (p. 21. Refers to 1553).

Richardson—*The Lover of Queen Elizabeth* :

"Elizabeth was twenty-five years of age, handsome, vigorous . . ." (p. 40. Refers to 1558).

Hume—*The Courtships of Queen Elizabeth* :

"Elizabeth was now in the very prime of her beauty and powers. Her complexion was of that peculiar transparency which is only seen in golden blonds, her figure was fine and graceful . . ." (p. 60, referring to Elizabeth's appearance when she ascended the throne in 1558).

Mlle. de Keralio—*Histoire d'Elizabeth* (1787) :

"She had enjoyed up to this (1603) perfect health, despite her seventy years ; she could hunt still with expertness and swiftness ; she could ride horseback, dance, and sing with as much gaiety as in the first years of her reign . . ." (vol. iv. p. 956).

Tytler—*Tudor Queens and Princesses* :

"Elizabeth's temperate habits, and her fondness for out-door exercise, had caused her to enjoy, for the most part, robust health" (p. 135).

With the writers on Elizabeth in this accord, how *could* any one reach a contrary opinion except after travelling the long road that lies behind the present writer ?

As before indicated, we believe the hitherto accepted view demonstrably a mistaken one—and as proof thereof we shall submit in a few minutes a Medical Record of the entire life of the Queen. The chronological order of the narrative is thereby somewhat interrupted, but we are of the opinion that only by this method can the reader be prepared intelligently to weigh the evidence presented later for and against Elizabeth's chastity.

To the Medical Record are appended opinions thereon from the most eminent medical men—the result of the first medical study ever made of the Great Queen ; but before presenting it, we think it best to offer a few general observations

upon its first two or three pages, those under the sub-title "A—Elizabeth's Family History."

As already said, Elizabeth's first important illness began in 1548, before the Seymour Affair had arrived at its most dangerous period, when she was not yet fifteen years of age, and was a complete breakdown, mentally and physically. Her constitution and nervous system gave way at the first intense strain. Why?

Why? The query does not appear ever to have been made. It is quite time that it were done.

In searching for the explanation, a physician would at the very outset demand to know the medical record of Elizabeth's family. We shall therefore proceed in similar order. The exact information will be found in the Appendix, note 1.

With respect to its contents, let us first glance at the progeny of Henry VIII.'s marriages, apart from Elizabeth, that is at Mary and Edward, and at a boy whom Henry had in 1519 by one of his wife's ladies-in-waiting, the young man known in history as Duke of Richmond. There also appears to have been an illegitimate daughter, Etheldreda, brought up by Henry's tailor; but of her we know too little for the purpose of this inquiry, except that she died soon after marriage and without issue.

The main fact concerning the Duke of Richmond with which we have to deal is this—that he died when seventeen, having apparently been in failing health for a long period.

The constitution and disposition of Mary, Catharine's daughter, was wrecked at about the same age and in much the same manner as those of Elizabeth. Henry's treatment of Mary's mother, the tearing apart of mother and daughter even to keeping them asunder when the former was smitten by her prolonged fatal illness, the insults and persecution from the King's mistress—Anne Boleyn—whom Henry insisted upon keeping under his wife's roof, the continued danger to the girl's and mother's life and liberty on account of their religion, Mary's deposition from her position of Princess, the breaking up of her household, her consignment to poverty, the declaration of her illegitimacy, and finally the forcing of her to commit perjury by acknowledging her father as supreme head of the Church in addition to signing a statement that she was

illegitimate because her mother was never legally married to the King—all which things, especially terrible for a girl of her strong religious principles, she had to do in order to save her liberty if not her life—gave Mary's constitution a succession of shocks that threw her at the age of sixteen into a most severe illness. This was succeeded by others, until, before she was out of her teens, she had become a chronic invalid.

Thus was a saintly, frank, and lovable girl altered and warped into a hard, suspicious, embittered woman, prematurely aged and infirm, eventually driven to an early death.

Of all Henry's crimes, these are the worst—his treatment of Catherine of Aragon, who gave every drop of her blood to advance him and his people, and his harshness and callousness to their daughter, crimes by which he tortured one to her grave and one to incurable disease, two of the best and noblest women who ever came into the pages of history. The beheading of Anne Boleyn and of Catherine Howard, preceded by perhaps a month of anxiety between sentence and the fall of the axe, was as nothing compared with the years and years of slow agony and outrage to which the helpless Catherine and Mary were subjected.

The medical indices of Mary's decline may be seen from the following :—

For many years she was never free from headache and palpitation of the heart ; she was habitually afflicted with the most abject melancholy ; she was anæmic to a notable degree ; there was a general weakness of frame. Her colour was bad ; her periods were irregular, scanty, painful, and in the main suppressed, a complaint treated, according to the Venetian ambassador, by " frequent blood-letting," or, as put by another and higher authority, " her strength was further reduced by frequent bleedings ordered by her physicians." *

In an address delivered before the British Medical Society in 1877, Spencer Wells, than whom there can be no higher authority, expressed the opinion that her disease was ovarian dropsy, adding, " and her bodily ailments were doubtless aggravated by mental suffering."

We now arrive at that pitiful figure, Edward. If we have had any uncertainty, here we must lay it aside, for a further

* *Britt. Med. Jour.*, 1910, vol. i. p. 1303, " Some Royal Death-Beds."

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transcript from the last-mentioned authority states :
" Edward VI. died at the age of sixteen, apparently of consumption . . . in addition to the symptoms of pulmonary disease, eruptions on his skin came out ; his hair fell off, and then his nails, and afterwards the joints of his toes and fingers."

And now we shall have a word to say as to the author of this horrible sequence of disaster.

In the *Annals of the Barber Surgeons* we find this minute :
" Henry VIII. suffered many years before his death from a ' sorre legge,' . . ."

In the above article from the *Medical Journal*, we also find :
" In 1546 the life of Henry VIII. was coming to an end. From a handsome, athletic man he had become a mass of loathsome infirmities," etc.

Such, we trust, is a strictly modest suggestion of the contents of our Family History of Elizabeth. It is from that ancestry, that father, that she had to inherit whatever constitution she ever had—and the bald truth would appear to be that that inheritance was a particularly unfortunate one. She was given but a feeble machine with which to enter such battles of life as are the fate of but very few—a machine altogether inadequate to withstand the ordinary demands of the average uneventful life—and still less equal to the frequent and prolonged terrific strains and stress to which this girl and monarch was to be subjected—strains and stress which would have tried to the very breaking point the strongest combination of nerve and physique that can be imagined.

This is one point upon which all of the great experts who have honoured us with their co-operation are, we believe, in entire accord—*i.e.* that Elizabeth never had a strong constitution and that consequently she started life with a heavy handicap, and never recovered from it.

No one of the experts, however, is prepared positively to say that Henry VIII.'s disease was the cause of the ill-health which dogged the great Queen all through her life, at least after she was fifteen. Their position, as we understand it, is that they do not find in her the specific symptoms which they agree denote congenital disease, such as, among others, early fits, paralysis, epilepsy, bone, skin, or visceral lesions.

With great deference and after studying the chief writings

upon the disease involved, we beg to advance the proposition that the pronounced anæmia, the decaying teeth, the bad heart, the weak constitution, with its long train of consequences, may very well be the *sequelæ* of that lack of a strong constitution, and that lack itself be due to a diseased father.

The disease involved is a constitutional disease. It is a blood disease, and few if any corpuscles in the veins can be altogether immune from its virus. There can be no reasonable doubt, after considering the experience of Catherine of Aragon as it is set out in the Family History, that her husband had a most dread infection more than *twenty years* before Elizabeth was born; and he never recovered from it; and it killed him.

We have seen what happened to Henry's other children, Mary, the Duke of Richmond, and Edward; and while the medical text-books assert that healthy children *may* occur after the birth of the tainted one, the proof as offered is not convincing in this respect, viz., They merely say that the untainted child was healthy, and *therefore* untainted.*

It would appear to us that more is required. It seems that the conclusive test is the nature and amount of strain, mental and physical, to which a child or man is subjected—and that is something incapable of exact measurement.

It appears logical that of two children congenitally infected by such a disease, one, by reason of a life of ease, freedom from responsibility, from misfortune, from other contagions, from accidents, grief, or prolonged mental anguish and distress, or from long continued danger, may never disclose any pronounced weakness—and the physicians would offer him as a healthy child born subsequent to the second one, who, like Elizabeth, may break just *because*, so far as can be ascertained, he was *not* free from some or all of these very misfortunes.

But the exact comparison does not arise in the case of Henry's children, for all four permanently broke down before, or when, fourteen or sixteen, all at or about puberty. Yet the medical men decide that Edward—who alone had the *positive*, *visible* symptoms with which we are all familiar—is the only one of the four who was infected by his father. Those medical authorities will not say, however, at least unanimously, that

* For authority, cf. *Proceeds.* of Roy. Soc. Med., 1912, vol. v.

Elizabeth and Mary were *not* infected, and in several instances they expressly admit the possibility if not probability of such an origin of their misfortunes.

But we are getting beyond our depth, we are well aware, when adventuring thus far into the medical world, and we endeavour to escape whole with assent to this proposal—That the chances are *against* such a father as Henry VIII. having a child untainted, and for that reason as much as for the protection of the mother, every physician would have opposed a marriage to that monarch.

In the following chapter, we now offer the formal Medical Record of the life of Elizabeth.

CHAPTER IV

THE MEDICAL RECORD OF ELIZABETH

(Exactly as presented to the Five Medical Experts, except for the eighteen items marked in the margin NEW.)

A.—FAMILY HISTORY

THE text under this heading can only be seen in the Appendix, note 1.

B.—ELIZABETH'S HISTORY

(Items numbered consecutively, accompanied by Elizabeth's age and the date of each. It is attempted to confine each disease or illness to one Group.)

Group 1.—Æt. 14 to 19 (1548 to 1553)

- No. 1, Æt. 14. "She was furst syk about mydsomer."—Mrs. Ashley, February 4, 1549, referring to the preceding June 24, 1548. Midsummer. (*S. P. Dom. Edw. VI.* vol. vi. No. 20.)
- No. 2, Æt. 15. "Incontinent after the death of the quene at Sept. 7, 1548. Cheston, when the said lady Elizabeth was seke."—Mrs. Ashley, February 2, 1549, referring back to some time subsequent but immediately after September 7, 1548. (*Idem*, No. 19.)
- No. 3, Æt. 15. "Sche beyng seke yn hyr bed."—Mrs. Ashley, Feb. 12, 1549, referring back to some period soon after September 7, 1548. (*Idem*, No. 22.)
- No. 4, Æt. 15. "Many lines will not serve to render the least part of the thanks that your Grace hath deserved of me, most especially for that you have been careful of my health; and sending unto me not only your comfortable letters, but also physicians, as Doctor Bill, whose diligence and pain has been a great part of my recovery. . . . And although I be most bounden

to you in this time of my sickness ; yet I may not be unthankful for that your Grace hath made expedition for my patent.”—Elizabeth to Somerset, October (?1548). (*S. P. Dom.* 3d. vi., bottom paging 9.)

No. 5, Æt. 15.
Nov. 5, 1548. In a letter to Edward, Elizabeth twice implies that her health continues bad, but promises more frequent letters to him “if God grant vigourous health.” She refers to a translation she may send to him. (*Wood, Letters of Roy. and Ill. Lad.*, vol. iii. p. 232.)

No. 5a,
Æt. 15.
NEW
Circa Dec. 1,
1548. “She saith she cam to London as she thynketh about III wekes or a moneth before Christmas. She spake with no persone there but onely with . . . Parry. . . . She saith she dyd not speak at that tyme nether with the Lord Admirall nor no one of his men, nor was never one myle owt of the lady Elizabeths hows syth she was furst syk about mydsomer.”—Mrs. Ashley, February 4, 1549, referring to events of the preceding year, showing that she meant that she was not a mile from Elizabeth between Midsummer (June 24) or about that time, and approximately December 1. (*S. P. Dom. Edw. VI.*, vol. vi. No. 20.)

No. 6, Æt. 15.
Jan. 2, 1549. In a letter of January 2, 1549, Elizabeth writes to Edward excusing herself for being unable to send him her usual New Year present, something of her own writing. Her first excuse is as follows: “Every description of learning . . . has been either so wasted by the long duration of my illness, or so hindered by the infirm state of my health, that my old custom of bringing something or other out of my scanty literary store-house . . . has been now altogether taken from me. And, even though I had not been quite an invalid. . . .” (*Idem*, p. 221.)

No. 6a,
Æt. 15.
NEW
Jan. 22, 1549. “Plesyth yowr Grace to be advertysed that after my Lady’s Grace had sene a Letter (wych I devysed to Mestrys Blanche frome a Frend of hers,) that boyth Mestrys Aschlay and her Cofferer was put into the Tower, she was mervelous abasheded, and ded weype very tenderly a long Tyme, . . .”—Tyrwhyt to Protector, January 22, 1549. (Haynes, p. 70.)

No. 7, Æt. 15.
Feb. 19,
1549. *In re* the supersession of Mrs. Ashley by Mrs. Tyrwhyt at the command of the Council, as Elizabeth’s governess, Tyrwhyt writes to Somerset: “She took the Matter so hevely, that she wepte all Nyght, and lowred all the next Day. . . .” (Haynes, p. 108.)

- No. 8,
Æt. 15, 17, or 18?
July 26,
1549? No exact year can be assigned to this letter, but it evidently refers to the same period as the remainder of Group 1. "O King . . . the reason that you have not, for so long a time, seen any letters from me is . . . because the pain in my head precluded all modes of writing. . . . Truly, I am both ashamed and grieved that I must so often make excuses of this kind. . . . I am somewhat restored to health. . . . I think I ought now to resume my long interrupted duty of writing."
—Elizabeth to Edward. (Wood, *Letters of Roy. and Ill. Lad.*, vol. iii. p. 227.)
- No. 9,
Æt. 16-17?
Feb. 14,
1550? This undated letter also belongs plainly to Group 1. "Whereas before this time, most serene and illustrious king, I have given no letter to your Majesty, and returned no thank for the singular kindness and brotherly love that you have shown me, I beg that you will not think this should be attributed to forgetfulness of benefits, far from it—nor to slothfulness which is most unbecoming to me—but to other very just causes. For whilst I often attempted to write to your majesty, some ill health of body especially headache recalled me from the attempt. For which reason I hope that your Highness will accept my feeling towards you instead of letters."—Elizabeth to Edward. (Harl. MS. 6986, Art. 12.)
- No. 10,
Æt. 17.
Sept. 15,
1550. "I had forgotten to say to you that her Grace commanded me to say to you, for the excuse of her hand, that it is not now as good as she trusts it shall be; her Grace's unhealth hath made it weaker, and so unsteady, and that is the cause."—Thos. Parry to Cecil. (Mumby, *The Girl. of Q. El.* p. 75.)
- No. 11,
Æt. 17.
Sept. 22,
1550. "Her Grace hath been long troubled with rheums (a term evidently used both for colds and rheumatism. For use in the latter sense, *vide* item No. 157, *infra*) but now, thanks be the Lord! meetly well again, and shortly ye shall hear from her Grace again."—Thos. Parry to Cecil, at command of Elizabeth. (Tytler, *Eng. under Edw. VI. and Mary*, vol. i. p. 322.)
- No. 12,
Æt. 18½.
April 21,
1552. "I commit your Majesty to His hands, most humbly craving pardon of your Grace that I did write no sooner; desiring you to attribute the fault to my evil head, and not to my slothful hand."—Elizabeth to Edward. (Wood, *Letters of Roy. and Ill. Lad.* vol. iv. p. 225.)

No. 13,
Æt. 19.
Sept. 20,
1552.

"I hope, most illustrious King, that I shall readily obtain pardon that for such a long interval of time you have received from me so few letters either returning thanks for your benefits or at least bearing witness to my due regard for you, especially as no kind of forgetfulness of you whom I never can or ought to forget has been the cause of the delay."—Elizabeth to Edward. (Wood, *Letters of Roy. and Ill. Lad.*, vol. iii. p. 230.)

No. 14,
Æt. 15-19.

The exact date is conjectural, except that it is clear that it belongs to this same Group 1. "Although I would study nothing so much as to escape . . . even the slightest suspicion of ingratitude, I nevertheless fear that I may seem to have fallen into it; because, having ever received so many favours from your majesty, I yet have, in so long an interval, sent no letters, whereby you might discern at least, the signs of a grateful heart; for which omission, as there are just and necessary causes, I hope and am likewise assured that your majesty will readily absolve me from every charge of ingratitude; for a disease of the head and eyes has come upon me, which has so grievously troubled me ever since my coming to this abode, that, although I often attempted to write your majesty, I have, even to this day, ever been recalled from my purpose and resolution. As this affection, by the aid and assistance of the great and good God, has now somewhat abated, I have considered that I ought no longer to defer the duty of writing."—Elizabeth to Edward. (Wood, *Letters of Roy. and Ill. Lad.*, vol. iii. p. 234.)

Group 2.—21st and 22nd years (1553-4-5)

No. 14a,
Æt. 19.
NEW
Circa July 6,
1553.

Elizabeth reported ill, but contemporary authority not discovered.—Cf. Mumby, p. 81, and Strickland's *Elizabeth*, p. 66, 1842 ed.

No. 14aa,
Æt. 20.
Dec. 6-15,
1553.

Elizabeth quitted the Court on December 6 for Ashridge; but before she reached it she was taken so ill that she had to send for the Queen's horse litter; we find no statement of the nature of this illness, except that it may be connected with the swelling in No. 15 *infra*, which is dated some two months later.—(Renard to Charles V., from London, December 17, 1553.)

No. 14b,
Æt. 20.
Jan. 27 ?
1554.

In answer to a letter from Mary summoning her to Court, which letter is of January 26, Elizabeth sent an oral message "that she was too ill at present to travel; that as soon as she was able she would come, and prayed her majesty's forbearance for a few days." (Strype, *Mem.* iii., Part I. p. 127.)

No. 14c,
Æt. 20.
Jan. 27 ?
1554.

Besides the above oral message, the high officials deputed by Mary to guard and watch Elizabeth, for she was under the strictest surveillance, being suspected of complicity in the Wyatt rebellion, sent a letter to the Lord Chancellor on their own behalf stating: "That . . . we attend on my Lady Elizabeth's Grace our mistress, in hope of her amendment to repair towards the Queen's Highness, whereof we have as yet no apparent likelihood of health." (*Idem.*)

No. 14d,
Æt. 20.
Jan. 29, 1554.

Elizabeth sent word to the Queen to send her own physician to Ashridge so that she might see that Elizabeth was ill.—(Renard, Imperial Ambassador, to Charles V.)

No. 14e,
Æt. 20.
Feb. 11,
1554.

At 10 in the evening of Saturday, February 10, three high officials of England reached Ashridge under positive orders to bring Elizabeth to Court at once, if it could be done without endangering her life. By the first clause of the following quotation and from the second clause from the last, it is quite certain that Mary sent her own physicians as Elizabeth requested or demanded some days previous to the arrival of the aforesaid officials. In view of the very grave suspicions against Elizabeth in the mind of her sister, the chances are that Mary lost no time in finding out whether or not Elizabeth was really ill; and we must therefore believe that Mary's physicians reached Ashridge about January 28. The errand of the commissioners was so urgent that they compelled Elizabeth at once to admit them, "being before advertised of her state by your highness's physicians, by whom we did perceive the state of her body to be such, that without danger to her person, we might well proceed to require her . . . to repair to your highness . . . she much feared her weakness to be so great that she should not be able to travel, and to endure the journey without peril of life, and therefore desired some longer respite until she had better recovered her strength; but in conclusion, upon the persuasion, as much of us as of her own

council and servants, . . . she is resolved to remove hence to-morrow towards your highness, with such journeys as by a paper, herein enclosed, your highness shall perceive; (the itinerary was 6 miles for the first day, and 8, 7, 7, and 5 miles for the succeeding days) . . . her grace much desireth . . . that she may have a lodging, at her coming to court, somewhat further from the water (the Thames) than she had at her last being there; which your physicians, considering the state of her body, thinketh very meet, who have travailed very earnestly with her grace, both before our coming, and after, in this matter.”—The Lord Admiral W. Howard, Sir Edw. Hastings, and Sir Thos. Cornwallis to the Queen. (The Queen sent her horse litter to fetch the princess, another proof of her real condition.)

No. 14f,
Æt. 20.
Same date as
last above,
Feb. 11,
1554.

The Commissioners “found hir at the same time so sicke in hir bed, and verie feeble and weake of bodie. . . On the next (the 2nd morning after their arrival) they had hir forth as she was, verie faint and feeble, and in such case that she was readie to swoond (swoon) three or foure times between them. . . . (She was) all sicke in the litter . . . (At St. Albans she was) feeble in body . . . (At Highgate she) being verie sicke, tarried. . . .”—Holinshed, iii. p. 1153. *Fox Acts and Mons.*, iii. p. 792, ed. 1684 to same effect. Here at Highgate she remained an entire week, for the reason and in the condition described in the next item, before she could be brought the last five miles to Westminster.

No. 15,
Æt. 20½.
Feb. 21,
1554.

“The most beautiful spectacles one may see in this city and in all the countryside are the gibbets, hung with the heads of the bravest and most valiant men of the kingdom. . . . The princess Elizabeth for whom no better fate is forseen, is about seven or eight miles from here, so very ill that nobody longer anticipates anything except her death . . . she is so swollen and weakened that she is a pitiful sight.”—De Noailles, French Ambassador at London, to Paris. (*De Noailles*, vol. iii. p. 77.)

No. 16,
Æt. 20½.
Feb. 24,
1554.

“Madame Elizabeth, sister of the said lady, arrived Thursday in this city (London), so ill with dropsy or some swelling which has attacked her whole body and even her face, that those who have seen her

do not promise her long to live. I believe that on account of this illness she will not be able to accompany her sister, but will remain here, if she live that long.”—De Noailles to Paris. (*De Noailles*, vol. iii. pp. 86 and 87.)

No. 17, “ Her countenance was pale.”—Renard to Chas. V.
Æt. 20½.

Feb. 24, 1554. “ They tell me that Madame Elizabeth, sister of
No. 18, the queen, will be soon thrust into the Tower, no
Æt. 20½. matter how ill she may be; and she almost entirely
March 12, swollen.”—De Noailles to Paris. (*De Noailles*, vol.
1554. iii. p. 125.)

No. 19, “ My lady Elizabeth’s grace continually in helthe
Æt. 20 and accustomed with thonelye swellng in the visage at
10 mos. certayn tymes excepted.”—*Bedingfield Papers*, p. 174.
June 9, 1554.

No. 20, “ Doctour owens letter to me. Plesyth yt that I
Æt. 20 and have understonde by my l. off the quenys highnes
10 mos. most honorabyll counsell, that my ladye Elizabeths
June 22, grace ys trobled wth ye swellng In hir face, &
1554. also of her armes and hands. Syr, the occasion off
theis affects ys off that hyr gracs bodye ys replenyshed
with mannye colde and waterysh humors, wch wyll
not be taken awaye but by pergacons mete & con-
venient for that prpose. But for as moche as thys
tyme off the yere, and specialle the distemperaunce
off the wether, doth not permitte to minister purgacons,
her grace must have sum pacience untill the tyme off
the yere shall bee more meter for medisyns. . . .”—
Bedingfield Papers. (Dr. Owen’s letter to Beding-
field.)

No. 21, Elizabeth wants a “ phesician ” sent to her.—
Æt. 20 and 10 mos. Council’s letter to Bedingfield.
June 25, 1554.

No. 22, “ First . . . that my l. Elizabeth’s grace ys daylye
Æt. 20 and vexed wth the swellng in the face and other parts off
10 mos. her bodye, & graunte that shee maye have doctour
June 25-29, Huycke, accompanied wth doctour Wendye or doctour
1554. Owen, the quenes maiesties phesicons, Immediatelye
to repare unto hir, whose counsell she velouslye
desyreth, to devise remedie for swellng in her face
and other parts off hir bodye, wch I dooe see hir
grace often vexed wth all. . . .”—*Bedingfield to
Gage*.

No. 23,
Æt. 20 and
11 mos.
July 16, 1554. "Uppon saturdaye, her gracs face in the mornynge was somewhat swolyne; the same night, as she sayed her self, she was verye evell at ease. . . ."—Bedingfield to the Council.

No. 23^a,
Æt. 21.
NEW
Sept. 20,
1554. "At the after noone (On Monday.—F. C.), on hir gracs goyng to walke, I harde hir saye she hadde suche payne In hir hedde that she colde wryte nooe moore that daye. Tewsdaye, in the mornynge, as I lerned off mastresse Morton, she washed hir hedde."—Bedingfield to the Council.

No. 24,
Æt. 21.
Oct. 21, 1554. Elizabeth commands Bedingfield to send to the Council to ask the Queen to send her the Queen's physicians "for to mynister unto hir physyke, brynginge of their owne chose oon exparte Surgion to let hir gracs blode, yf the saide doctors or twoe of them shall thinke yt so good, uppon the vewe of hyr sewte at their comynge; to whych thre persons, or two of them, hyr grace sayethe she wyll comytte all the privities of hir bodye, or else to no cretures alyve, withoute the Quenes hyghnes especiall commaundement to the contrarye, which she trustethe hyr Majesty wyll not dooe. Hyr grace desyerethe that thys hyr sewte may have spede answer, whereby she maye inioye thys tyme of the yere apte for thys purpose afforesaide. . . ."—Bedingfield to Council.

No. 25,
Æt. 21.
Oct. 30,
1554. The physicians arrived at Woodstock on October 29 with a surgeon, and bled Elizabeth the following morning through the arm, and, in the afternoon, through the foot. ". . . since wch tyme, thanks be to god, as far as I see or here, she doethe resonablye well. . . ."—Bedingfield to Council.

No. 26,
Æt. 22.
1555. "Not long after (sometime in 1555) her Grace fell sicke and the Queen's doctors again journeyed to Elizabeth and bled her."—Bohun, *Character of Q. El.* But no contemporary authority has been found.

Group 3.—Æt. 23-25 (December, 1556, to December, 1558)

No. 26^a,
Æt. 23.
1556. "Her beauty perhaps had no great share in these acquisitions; (of friends at Court where Elizabeth was from November 28 to December 3) such as it was, it still retained some traces of sickness, and some shades of melancholy, contracted in her late severe but useful

school of affliction.”—Nichols’ *Prog.* i. p. 30, 1st ed. 1788. Not contemporary.

No. 27,
Æt. 23.
Dec. 15,
1556.

“The poor Dame (Elizabeth) is so bad in health that they do not hope that she will live long, as much on account of the jaundice and the yellow sickness which she has as for a shortness of breath with which she has been continuously suffering ever since the time when her sister began to maltreat her, a condition which still continues. . . .”—Report from some secret agent, contained in letter from Evesque d’Acqs to King of France. (Baschet, Trans., P. R. O., Bundle No. 22.)

No. 28,
Æt. 24.
May 13,
1557.

“Swarthy” or “olive” is the adjective used to describe Elizabeth’s colour by Michiel, Venetian Ambassador at London, in addressing the Doge and Senate. The Italian word is “olivastra.” (*Cal. St. P. Ven.*, vol. vi. Part II. 1556–7, pp. 1043 *et seq.*)

No. 29,
Æt. 25.
1558.

“She was . . . slender . . . and . . . short-sighted.”—Sir John Hayward, *Annals of Q. El.*, p. 7, ed. of 1840.

No. 29a,
Æt. 15–69.
1548–1603.

“She was . . . slender. . . .”—Sir Richard Baker, a contemporary who passed his life in London, and was at Court for much of the time. He is here speaking of her appearance throughout her life.—(*Chronicle*, p. 118.)

ELIZABETH ASCENDED THE THRONE NOVEMBER, 1558, AGED 25 AND 2 MONTHS.

Group 4.—Æt. 25–28 (*December, 1558, to August, 1561*)

No. 30,
Æt. 25.
Dec. 29,
1558.

“ . . . prophecies are now saying that she (Elizabeth) will reign a very short time. . . . The people are already beginning to gossip about her lacking in depth” (*liviana*).—Duke de Feria to Madrid from London.

No. 31,
Æt. 25.
Jan. 31, 1559.

“She (Elizabeth) has not been very well lately and the opening of Parliament was postponed in consequence from the 23rd to the 25th. . . . she was suffering from a bad cold when I saw her, and has been almost ever since.”—Duke de Feria at London to Madrid.

No. 32,
Æt. 26.
Jan. —,
1560.

“The Queen calls Lady Catherine (Robt. Dudley’s sister) her daughter . . . the Queen has thought best to put her in her chamber, and makes much of her in

order to keep her quiet. She even talks about formally adopting her. On the other hand, Cecil tells me that neither she nor any other woman will succeed in excluding the Countess of Lennox, whose son if he were taken to France might disagree with their stomachs. They signify that Hastings would succeed."—De Quadra, Spanish Ambassador in London, to Duke de Feria.

No. 33,
Æt. 26½.
March 7,
1560.

"I understand that if any disaster happens to the Queen's life . . . the Catholics will raise to the throne a son of the countess of Lennox. . . . The Queen signifies her intention of declaring Lord Hastings as her successor, but he himself is quite of a different opinion and goes in constant dread of being sent to the Tower."—De Quadra to Madrid.

No. 34,
Æt. 27.
Oct. 15, 1560.

" . . . he had heard they were devising a very important plan for the maintenance of their heresies, namely, to make the Earl of Huntington King in case the Queen should die without issue, and that Cecil has told the Bishop (de Quadra) that the succession belonged to the Earl. . . ."

"They fear that if the Queen were to die your Majesty would get the kingdom into your family by means of lady Catherine. . . . The Bishop asked him if . . . the Queen would declare her heiress to the Crown. Cecil answered, 'Certainly not, because, as the saying is, the English run after the heir to the Crown more than after the present wearer of it.'"—Minute of a letter from De Quadra to Madrid from London.

No. 35,
Æt. 27.
Nov. 20,
1560.

"The design of Cecil and the heretics is to make the earl of Huntington King . . ."—De Quadra from London to Madrid.

No. 36,
Æt. 27.
Jan. 22, 1561.

"I must not omit to say also that the common opinion, confirmed by certain physicians, is that this woman (Elizabeth) is unhealthy, and it is believed certain that she will not have children. . . . This being the state of things, perhaps some step may be taken in your Majesty's interests towards declaring as successor of the Queen, after her death, whoever may be most desirable for your Majesty."—De Quadra from London to Madrid.

No. 37,
Æt. 28.

"Was told by Lady Willoughby . . . that while Her Majesty was at Ipswich, she looked like one lately

Aug. 6-10,
1561. come out of child-bed. . . . Heard Lady Willoughby say that Her Majesty looked very pale,—like a woman out of child-bed.”—Examination of Robt. Garrerd, his wife and Mannell, her servant, on January 19, 1563, referring to August, 1561.

Group 5.—Æt. 28-9 (September, 1561, to July, 1562)

No. 38,
Æt. 28.
Sept. 13,
1561. “What is of most importance now is that the Queen (according to what I hear) is becoming dropsical, and has already begun to swell extraordinarily. I have been advised of this from three different sources and by a person who has the opportunity of being an eye witness. To all appearances she is failing, and is extremely thin and the colour of a corpse. . . . That the Marchioness (of Northampton) who is in a better position to judge than any one else . . . and Lady Cobham consider the Queen in a dangerous condition is beyond doubt, and if they are mistaken I am mistaken also. I can obtain no more precise intelligence . . .”—De Quadra from London to Madrid.

No. 39,
Æt. 28½.
Feb. 27,
1562. There was a plot of the Pole brothers to set Mary Stuart on the throne through landing troops in Wales. Upon prosecution the brothers’ . . . “only defence was that they ment to attempte nothing in the Quene’s life tyme who by conjuration they had fownde should not lyve passinge the nexte spring.”—An Astrologer named Prestal, who had cast Elizabeth’s nativity, predicted that she would die the ensuing March.—Letter of Mason to Chaloner.

No. 40,
Æt. nearly
29.
July 15, 1562. “She (Mary Stuart) said to me that Lethington told her that morning, that the Queen’s Majesty (Elizabeth) had been ‘for a space evle dysposed,’ . . . She asked me further of the ‘habilitie’ of her body in time of health, of her exercise, diet, and many more questions, that I could not answer, save by report.”—Randolphe to Cecil.

Group 6.—Æt. 29 (October, 1562, to November, 1562)

No. 41,
Æt. 29.
Oct. 16, 1562. “The Queen has been ill of fever at Kingston, and the malady has now turned to small-pox. The eruption cannot come out and she is in great danger. If the Queen die it will be very soon, within a few days at the latest, and now all talk is who is to be her

successor."—De Quadra to Duchess of Parma from London.

No. 42,
Æt. 29.
Oct. 17, 1562. " . . . she was all but gone."—De Quadra to Duchess of Parma from London.

No. 42a,
Æt. 29.
NEW
Oct. 20, 1562. " Our Queen is now ill with the smallpox, and before this broke out she was in the greatest danger of her life, so that her whole Council was in constant session for three days ; on the third day she was somewhat better, but she is yet not free from symptomatic fever, as part of the poison (*materiæ*) is still between the flesh and the skin."—Martin Kyernbek, *Medicus*, from London to Nicholas Guilderstern, the Swedish Chancellor.

No. 42b,
Æt. 29.
Oct. 25, 1562. " I advised your Highness of the Queen's illness and convalescence. She is now out of bed and is only attending to the marks on her face to avoid disfigurement. In her extremity of the 16th her Council were almost as much troubled as she, for out of the 15 or 16 of them that there are there were nearly as many different opinions about the succession to the Crown." (There is much more on this last matter.)—De Quadra from London to Duchess of Parma. 1st letter of this date.

No. 43,
Æt. 29.
Oct. 25, 1562. " . . . on the seventh day she was given up. . . . There was great excitement that day in the place, and if her improvement had not come soon some hidden thoughts would have become manifest. The Council discussed the succession twice. . . . During this discussion the Queen improved, and on recovering from the crisis which had kept her unconscious and speechless for two hours, the first thing she said was to beg her Council . . . (etc., etc.) . . . The various grants were made in fear that another crisis might prove fatal. . . ."—De Quadra to Madrid from London.

No. 44,
Æt. 29.
Oct. 1562. " The Queen's improvement continues, and it is now considered certain that Parliament will be summoned, although if the nobles whom the Queen has ordered to be called together will privately advance her some money, as is the custom here, the Queen will be glad to avoid having a parliament, as she knows they would like to discuss the question of the succession and she has not the least wish that it should be opened. Public feeling, however, is so disturbed that I do not

see how she can avoid it, and I am told by persons of position that they believe the matter will be dealt with whether the Queen wishes it or not. It would be well that I should be instructed without delay what action his Majesty wishes me to take in this business. . . .” —De Quadra to Duchess of Parma from London. Scottish records confirm this, and there is other evidence to same effect. Twelve days later De Quadra asks again for such instructions.

No. 45,
Æt. 29.
Nov. 1562.

Parliament was summoned, and on November 5 the Speaker presented to the Queen a petition of the House praying her to marry. After remarking that Heaven “to our great terror and dreadful warning lately touched your highness, with some danger of your most noble person by sickness,” he proceeds to elaborate the danger to the country were she to die “without a known heir,” from civil wars, invasion from foreigners, etc.

Group 7.—Æt. 29½ to 31 (November, 1562, to December, 1564)

No. 45a,
Æt. 29.
Nov. 30,
1562.

“The other day a meeting of gentlemen was held at the earl of Arundel’s. . . . The question of the succession was discussed. . . . The meeting lasted until two in the morning, and when the news of it came to the Queen’s ears they say she wept with rage, and sent for the Earl and upbraided him greatly about it.” (Much detail given of various claimants.)—De Quadra to Philip II. from London.

No. 46,
Æt. 29½.
Feb. 7, 1563.

“When I say that things here are looking threatening I refer to the fact, now known publicly, that the nobles are divided on the subject of the succession. (Takes up different claimants and then proceeds.) When the opportunity arrives I think they will confine themselves to excluding Huntingdon, and after that is done each one will follow his own bent. They have become so excited over his pretensions that they cannot turn back or shut their eyes to them. The attorneys (members) for the towns proposed this question of the succession to the Queen (who told them) that the matter required further consideration, and, with that, turned her back on them and entered her own apartment. The lords afterwards went to her and proposed

the same, whereat she was extremely angry with them, and told them that the marks they saw on her face were not wrinkles, but pits of smallpox, and that although she might be old God could send her children as He did to Saint Elizabeth, and they (the Lords) had better consider well what they were asking, as, if she declared a successor, it would cost much blood to England. . . . The knights and commoners of lower rank are very much perplexed about the business as, on the one hand they see the danger of the country in its being left to the chance of a sickly woman's life without any understanding as to who should succeed. . . .”—De Quadra from London to Philip II.

No. 46a,
Æt. 30.
NEW
Dec. 29,
1563.

. . . “the cold here hath so assailed us, that the Queene's Majestie hath bene much troubled, and is yet not free from the same that I had in November, which they call a pooss, and now this Christmass to keep her Majestie company, I have newly so possessed with it that as I cold not see, but with somewhat ado I wryte this. I have made four several letters for her Majestie to wryte to you, but nether hath she had commodite to sign one, nor now doth the contents remayne to be signed. But I hope within two days her Majestie will be able to signe. . . . Her Majestie is only combred with payne in her nose and eyes, otherwise she is, thanked be God! in good and perfect helth.”—Burghley to Sir Thomas Smith from London.

No. 47,
Æt. 31.
Aug. 12,
1564.

(Elizabeth had been at Cambridge on progress.)
“ . . . she is much in fear of falling ill, which I do not wonder at if they tell her the prophecies that are current about her short life. Everybody is talking of them. Much is thought here of the Scotch affairs, owing to the chance of the succession.”—De Silva, Spanish Ambass. in London, to Madrid.

No. 48,
Æt. 31.
Sept. 4, 1564.

The matter of the succession still the paramount subject at the opening of the new Parliament. “In case anything fatal should happen to this Queen I will prepare and send Your Majesty a statement of the rights of the various claimants. . . .”—De Silva from London to Madrid.

No. 49,
Æt. 31.
Oct. 1564.

Melville, Scottish Ambassador, in his memoirs, writing of this time, refers to the fact that Elizabeth then had her own hair. There does not appear to be

any later reference to indicate that she thereafter wore her own hair, and all subsequent references refer to her wigs. All her later portraits, it is believed, indicate that it was soon after this date that she became bald.

No. 50,
Æt. 31.
Oct. 1564. Elizabeth tells Melville that she was in the habit of playing the virginals "when sche was solitary . . . till (to) eschew melancholy."—Melville *Memoirs*.

Group 8.—32nd, 33rd, and 34th years (December, 1564, to June, 1566)

No. 51,
Æt. 31.
Dec. 8, 1564. "The Quene's Maistie fell perilously sick on Saturday last. The accident came to that which they call diarrhœa. We feared a flux. She is somewhat weakened . . . for the time she made us sore afraid. . . ."—Cecil to Sir Thos. Smith, December 15.

No. 52,
Æt. 31.
Dec. 9, 1564. "On the 9th of December she was 'sore sick of the flux.'"—Cecil's Diary.

No. 52a,
Æt. 31.
NEW
Dec. 16, 1564. ". . . About this tyme the Q. Majesty was sick at Westminster."—Cecil's Diary.

No. 53,
Æt. 31.
Dec. 16, 1564. "About 10 o'clock before dinner, I received your other Packet, before Murray and the rest came, and as he was to be 'merrie' I would not till after dinner give him occasion of sorrow. Then I told him and Lethington what lettre I had received from you that daye not two howers before. I abashed them not a little; apparent sorrowe was seen in their faces let by (besides) their wordes. For the veritie and maner of the disease, I showed them your letter, which satisfied them, as they trusted the danger was not great. . . ."—Thos. Randolph from Edinburgh to Cecil.

No. 54,
Æt. 31.
Dec. 18, 1564. "This Queen was attacked with a fever ten days since which was so severe as to cause her household some uneasiness."—De Silva from London to Madrid.

No. 55,
Æt. 31.
n. 2, 1565. "On the 18th and 23rd ult. I wrote your Majesty that this Queen had suffered from fever and had been very ill but was now recovered. I was with her on the 24th, and she complained of pains in the stomach and all over the body, and she has since been indisposed with a very bad catarrh with some fever. She is now better again and has come out into the presence chamber, but Leicester tells me she is very thin. The

changes of weather have been such that . . . it is very trying for the weak. It has found out the Queen, whose constitution cannot be very strong.”—De Silva from London to Madrid.

No. 56,
Æt. 31.
Jan. 2, 1565. “Although I have written that this Queen has been ill with catarrh she has also had an attack of pains in the head to which she is subject. They inform me that the Physicians who attend her consider her constitution a weak and unhealthy one. It is true young people can get over anything, but your Majesty should note that she is not considered likely to have a long life. . . . I have been waiting some days for a Catholic who is very diligent in affairs here to give me a statement about the succession in case of the Queen’s death. As he still delays I have read authorities on the subject, and consulted learned persons and now enclose the statement. . . .”—De Silva from London to Madrid.

No. 57,
Æt. 31.
Feb. 18, 1565. De Foix, French Ambassador, put off a week when asking audience, and references to the Queen’s taking medicine discloses that she has been ill. “The Friday she had taken medicine, she had allotted Saturday. . . .”

No. 58,
Æt. 32.
Sept. 6-9,
1565. Elizabeth ill from the 6th to the 9th.—De Silva from London to Madrid.

No. 59,
Æt. 32.
Sept. 17,
1565. “. . . she is well but thin.”—De Silva from London to Madrid.

No. 60,
Æt. 32.
Oct. 4, 1565. *In re* “consultations with witches, what invocations, conjurations and prophecies have been of late made in some parts of the world ‘to knowe tymes and yerres of some folkes lyves,’ I hear enough, and have cause to believe part; . . .”—Thos. Randolph from Scotland to Leicester.

No. 61,
Æt. 32.
Nov. 5, 1565. Elizabeth ill on 1st of month but recovered on 5th.—De Silva from London to Madrid.

No. 62,
Æt. 32.
Jan. 28, 1566. Elizabeth “somewhat lame and thin.” She falls downstairs.—De Silva from London to Madrid.

No. 63,
Æt. 32½.
March 11,
1566. “The Queen is still at Greenwich. I have not seen her since she left here, as she has been unwell; but although she is better now, she is so thin that a doctor who has seen her tells me that her bones may

be counted, and that a stone is forming in her kidneys. He thinks that she is going into a consumption. . . .”—De Silva from London to Madrid.

No. 64,
Æt. 32½.
May 11,
1566. “The Queen is well, although she had a fever four days since which gave her some trouble.”—De Silva from London to Madrid.

No. 65,
Æt. 32 and
10 mos.
May or
June 1, 1566. “About this tym the Quen of England was sa sair vesit with a het feur, that na man beleud any vther bot death to be the end of it, all England being therthrow in a gret perplexite. . . . My brother Sir Robert Melvill was then Ambassadour ther resident for the tym, and I serued in stead of secretaire heir at hame. . . .”—Melville, *Memoirs*.

Group 9.—Æt. 33 (1566)

No. 66,
Æt. 33.
Aug. 30,
1566. “The next day I sent to ask after the Queen, who I heard had been unwell, and to know when I could see her. The Lord Chamberlain sent word that she was better. . . . On the following morning the earl of Leicester . . . and Secretary Cecil came together to see me. They told me that the Queen was better, and the next day would go to hunt. . . . That night she was so troubled with her indisposition, which is an issue on the shoulder, that she could not go to the chase. . . . She is rather thin. . . .”—De Silva to the King of Spain, from some place near Oxford.

Group 10.—Æt. 34, 35 and 36 (December, 1567, to December, 1568)

No. 67,
Æt. 34.
Dec. 29,
1567. “The Queen entered London the 23rd instant in good health, although she had not been well some days before and had suffered from toothache and a fever which lasted forty hours and greatly weakened her.”—De Silva to Madrid from London.

No. 68,
Æt. 34.
Jan. 10, 1568. “This Queen has been ill for four or five days, but is now well. . . .”—De Silva from London to Madrid.

No. 69,
Æt. 34½.
Apl. 19, 1568. “The Queen is ill in bed with a great excess of bile. . . .”—De Silva to Madrid from London.

No. 70,
Æt. 34½.
May 1, 1568. Elizabeth being ill, the Spanish Ambassador saw her doctor and others, and refrained from seeing her on account of their description of her condition,

although she sent word that she would make an effort to see him, as he had an appointment with her.—De Silva from London to Madrid.

No. 71,
Æt. 35.
Dec. 5, 1568. The French Ambassador says: "I went to find this Queen at Antoncourt, whom, although still in some indisposition of her health, I found nevertheless well disposed to see me in her private chamber. . . ."—Fénélon, French Ambassador at London, to the Queen of France.

No. 71a,
Æt. 35.
NEW
1568. "1568.—The Queen was this year (but at what time of it I cannot tell) suddenly taken with a terrible fit of sickness, that threatened her life, and was brought even to the very point of death, in human appearance. This put the court and whole realm into a great consternation: and, together with her bodily distemper, she was under great conflicts and terrors of mind for her sins; . . ."—*Annals*, Strype, vol. i. Part II. p. 267. Not contemporary.

Group II.—Æt. 36 (July, 1569, to August, 1570)

No. 72,
Æt. 36.
July 27, 1569. Elizabeth, "with bad health and an affliction which she has in her legs, will not be of long life. . . ."—Fénélon from London to Paris.

No. 73,
Æt. 36.
Oct. 13, 1569. Elizabeth had not been well for 5-6 days.—Fénélon from London to Paris.

No. 74,
Æt. 36.
Oct. 28, 1569. "Elizabeth became so angry that she fainted, and they ran for vinegar and other remedies to revive her."—Fénélon from London to Paris.

No. 75,
Æt. 36 and
10 mos.
June 13, 1570. "Divers have demanded of me of the Quene our mistress' healthe. . . ."—Randolph from Edinburgh to Earl of Sussex.

No. 76,
Æt. 36-37. It was at this period that the Duke of Anjou declared "that he would not marry her, for she was not only an old creature, but had a sore leg."

No. 77,
Æt. 37.
June 25,
1570. "Cecille . . . replied to me that she must not overdo, on account of her being ill, as in truth she was, in her leg. . . ."—Fénélon from London to Paris.

No. 78,
Æt. 37.
June 29,
1570. ". . . having had me called into her private chamber, in which she was, dressed like an invalid, having her leg *en repos*, after having recounted to me the particulars of the affliction, and made her excuses for not having been able to hear me as soon as I had desired, I went over with her the matters before agreed

upon by us. . . ." In this interview she twice describes herself as lame.—Fénélon from London to Paris.

No. 79,
Æt. 37.
June 30,
1570. "The Queen has been three days without leaving her room."—Antonio de Guaras to Zayas, from London.

No. 80,
Æt. 37.
July 1, 1570. "The illness of the Queen is caused by an open ulcer (*una llaga*) above the ankle, which prevents her from walking."—De Spes to Madrid from London.

No. 81,
Æt. 37.
July and
Aug. 1570. Elizabeth made her progress this year in July and August in a coach because of her lameness due to the ulcer.

No. 81a,
Æt. 37.
NEW
July 30,
1570. "Sire, the Queen of England having herself perceived that the trouble in her foot (*mal de son pied*) would grow worse through the hardships of her progress, although she has only made it in a coach, she has stopped at Cheyneys, the house of the Count of Betford, where I advised you by my last she was going to remain all of the xxv and xxvi of this month ; but she has remained here longer, and will not stir for some days yet."—Fénélon, in the country with Elizabeth on progress, to the King of France, July 30, 1570. "We went, on the 4th inst. (August, 1570) to find the said Lady (Elizabeth) at Cheyneys, where she still is."—*Idem* to same, August 6, 1570. "The said lady pursues her progress toward Oxford."—*Idem* to *idem*, August 11, 1570. There is also a letter from Cheney's written by Leicester on the 8th.—*Cal. S. P. For.*, p. 310, vol. 1569-71. It is, then, certain that the Queen was detained by the ulcer in her leg for at least two weeks at Cheney's, and probably longer, by several days.

No. 81b,
Æt. 37.
NEW
Aug. 16, 1570. "The Queen is in poor health with her malady in the leg."—De Gueras from London to Zayas, *Cal. S. P.*, Simancas, vol. ii. p. 270.

No. 81c,
Æt. 37.
NEW
Sept. 5, 1570. " . . . she sent three gentlemen to conduct me . . . to an arbour which had been prepared for her to shoot with the crossbow does which were confined in a net ; to this she came soon, grandly accompanied, where, having very favourably received me before descending from her coach and after getting down from it, . . . she asked for news of Your Majesty."—Fénélon to the King of France from near Oxford, *Corresp. Dip.*, vol. iii. p. 290.

Group 12.—37½ to 38 (February, 1571, to June, 1571)

No. 82,
Æt. 37½,
Feb. 17,
1571. “As you hold your determination for your progress this week, I pray for fair weather. . . . Nothing is better for your health than exercise, and no one thing has been a greater hindrance thereto than your over-long abode in that corrupt air about the city; but you have so earnestly promised remedy as I hope to see you in time this year put it in practice respecting yourself before others. . . . Wishing for you, above all earthly treasures, good health and long life, I take my leave, rejoicing in your postscript that you have felt no more of your wonted pangs.”—Leicester to Elizabeth.

No. 83,
Æt. 37¾,
May 2, 1571. “. . . she (Elizabeth) wished to complain to me that a young man who was in the highest place had said that Monsieur would do well to come to marry this old woman, who had had, the past year so much of a sore (Tant de mal) in one of her legs that she was not yet cured of it, nor would it ever be possible to cure it. . . .”—Fénélon from London to Paris.

No. 84,
Æt. 37–38.
Undated but
ascribed to
this period
by best
authority. “But as regards France . . . and considering the great disparity of age, the poor health of the lady, and the very slight hope of offspring, one may well surmise that when Elizabeth dies, and the general opinion is that she will not live long, it would be an easy matter,” . . . etc., etc.—Rodolfi to Philip II.

No. 85,
Æt. 37¾.
May 10,
1571. On the 10th of May, 1571, as he reports to his sovereign, Elizabeth said to Fénélon, “that notwithstanding the evil report that had been made of her leg, she had not neglected to dance, on the preceding Sunday, at the Marquis of Northampton’s wedding, so she hoped that monsieur would not find himself cheated into marrying a cripple, instead of a lady of proper paces.”

No. 85a,
Æt. 37¾.
NEW
May 10, 1571. “She has neither youth nor health to have children, or to live long.”—Duke de Feria to Zayas.

No. 86,
Æt. 37 and
10 mos.
June 21,
1571. Leicester tells Fénélon that “he had never seen (Elizabeth) in better health or spirits; and that she would not go out in her coach any more to the chase, but on a fine large horse.”—Fénélon to Paris.

Group 13.—37 to 37½ (July, 1571, to December, 1571)

No. 87, " Their audience was ' differrit ' because the Queen
Æt. 37 and was sick."—Diary of Bishop Ross.
10 mos.

July, 1571. " . . . in truth, she (Elizabeth) feared very much
No. 88, that this young prince would dislike her, and that she
Æt. 37 and would not find herself sufficiently healthy or suitable
10 mos. for a young husband, and she would like to
July 9, 1571. postpone the proposal until she felt better."—Fénélon
to the French Queen.

No. 89, " Has received his letter of the 3d, sent by the
Æt. 37 and Provost Marshal. . . . Has received no small comfort
10 mos. to understand of the Queen's majesty's restoration to
July 8, 1571. perfect health."—Drury to Burghley.

" . . . The Queen is not able to go to ' progress.' "
No. 90, She finally went on the 10th after a delay of five days.
Æt. 37 and —Fénélon to Queen of France from London.
11 mos.

Aug. 5, 1571. " I found her (Elizabeth) ill in bed, where she is
No. 91, still, but without danger, and daily mending."—Du
Æt. 38. Foix, French Ambassador at London, to Paris.
Sept. 1571.

No. 92, " It was also bruited she (Elizabeth) was sore sick,
Æt. 38. and had lain speechless three days, at which the rebels
Oct. 8, 1571? much rejoiced."—Examination of Henry Simpson.
Year queried.

No. 93, " . . . he had been at Court (in France) and told
Æt. 38. them of the Queen's sickness. . . ."—Examination of
Oct. 21, Henry Simpson.
1571?

Year queried.
No. 94, " Other news we have none worth writing, but of
Æt. 38. her Majesties good estate, which surely is such as I
Dec. 6, 1571. have not known been these many years."—Leicester
to Walsingham.

Group 14.—Æt. 38½ to 39 (March, 1572, to August, 1572)

No. 95, " . . . The night after the arrival (of the courier of
Æt. 38½. the King of France) there took place such a great
March 25, illness and such a great twisting (torcion) of the Queen's
1572. stomach, on account, they say, of her eating some fish ;
and there has been such heavy and vehement pain
(douleur) that the entire court has been in the greatest
consternation ; and Leicestre and Burleigh have
watched three entire nights beside her bed. . . ."—
Fénélon to Paris.

No. 96,
Æt. 38½.
March 25 ?
1572.

This last illness, Elizabeth's physicians declared, "was occasioned by her contempt for physic, and utter neglect of such potions as they considered necessary to keep her in health."—Strickland quotes this, but we have not seen the contemporary authority from which she appears to quote.

No. 97,
Æt. 38½.
Mar. 30,
1572.

"Sire, immediately the Queen of England, with the permission of her physicians, has been able to come out of her private chamber, she has permitted me . . . to see her ; and she has recounted the extreme pain which for five days had so shortened her breath and had so clutched her heart, that she verily believed she was going to die of it, and some judged that she had already done so . . . and that she believed that this attack had not come from eating fish, as some said, for she often ate it, but rather had come from the fact that, for three or four years, she had found herself so well that she had disregarded all the strict discipline which her physicians formerly had been accustomed to impose upon her by purging her and drawing a bit of her blood from time to time . . . but no traces now remained of the attack except a little sick appearance and a very little fever. . . ."—Fénélon from London to Paris.

No. 98,
Æt. 38½.
April 2, 1572.

"It has been rumoured by the Italians that the Queen is very sick and in great danger, which causes Papists in the Low Countries to triumph not a little, and to substitute the Queen of Scots, without contradiction, in the place. . . ."—John Lee from Antwerp to Burghley.

No. 99,
Æt. 38½.
April 11,
1572.

" . . . as your Excellency will learn, Parliament is to be opened here on the 12th of May, it is believed, for the sole purpose of appointing a successor in case of the Queen's death without children."—A. de Guaras from London to Duke of Alba.

No. 99a,
Æt. 38.
NEW
April 15,
1572.

"News from England is that the Queen has entirely recovered her health. . . ."—Guerau de Spes to the King of Spain, from Brussels.

No. 100,
Æt. 39.
Aug. 7, 1572.

"The night after our audience, the Queen of England became very ill on account of walking too late in the night air when it was very cold ; and because of having hunted too much on the preceding

days ; but to-day (two days later) she is very well. . . .
—Fénélon to Paris.

No. 101,
Æt. 39.
Aug. 11,
1572.

"Sire, because of a little stomach trouble which seized the Queen of England the day she gave us audience . . . she has been two days without leaving her chamber. . . . And on the third day, the said Lady, yet not at all completely recovered, permitted us to see her. . . ."—Fénélon to Paris.

No. 102,
Æt. 39.
Aug. 30,
1572.

"It is said that she was dangerously ill for one or two nights but is now recovered."—De Guaras to Duke of Alba.

Group 15.—Æt. 39 (*September, 1572, to October, 27, 1572*)

No. 103,
Æt. 39.
1572.

"The Queene also herselfe, which hitherto had enjoyed very perfect health, (for shee never eate meate but when her Appetite served her, nor dranke Wine without alaying,) fell sicke of the small poxe at Hampton Court. But shee recovered againe before it was heard abroad that she was sicke."—Camden, Booke II. p. 52, ed. 1630.

No. 103a,
Æt. 39.
Sept. 1572.

"In September, 1572, the Queen, who had hitherto been very healthy (never eating without an appetite, nor drinking without some allay) fell sick of the small-pox at Hampton Court. But she recovered before there was any news of her being sick."—Nichols' *Prog.* Not contemporary.

No. 104,
Æt. 39.
Oct. 3, 1572.

The French Ambassador asked for an audience on the 2nd of October ; but Elizabeth sent word to him on the 1st "to request that she might be excused for the 2nd as she had intended to take medicine, and that she might also be excused for the entire day of the 3d, as she would not be well ; but that he might see her on the 4th, or, if the matter were pressing, she would put off her medicine to another time."—Fénélon to Paris.

No. 104a,
Æt. 39.
NEW
Oct. 4, 1572.

"The Queen's Majesty appeared to have the Small-poxs at Hampton-court ; but she recovered spedely."—Cecil's Diary.

No. 105,
Æt. 39.
Oct. 6, 1572.

"(Cecil) told me that if it were not for the illness of the Queen he would at once have led me to her. . . . People who come from the Court to-day say that the Queen is not so well. As she has an issue (*una fuente*)

in the leg there is always some fear of her health. . . ."
—De Guaras from London to Duke of Alba.

No. 105a,
Æt. 39. "Four days since the Queen fell ill at Kingston and
Oct. 7, 1572. is still in bed."—Letter of Intelligence from London
(unsigned) to the Duke of Alba.

No. 106,
Æt. 39. "The Queen has been unwell, and her illness
Oct. 12, 1572. turned out to be small-pox. She is now much better."
—De Guaras to Alba.

No. 107,
Æt. 39. "Elizabeth ill with chicken- or small-pox."
Oct. 13, 1572. Fénélon to Paris.

No. 108,
Æt. 39. "On Thursday night last, Monsieur de Crocque
Oct. 13, 1572. was here (Windsor) and had audience given him by
the Lord Treasurer, my Lord Chamberlain, and my
Lord of Leicester, because the Queen's Majesty was
not at that time perfectly whole of the small pox, as
the Physicians say, although her Majesty and a great
sort more, will not have it so, now it makes no matter
what it was, thanks be to God she is perfectly whole,
and no sign thereof left in her face . . ."—Sir Thos.
Smith to Walsingham.

No. 109,
Æt. 39. ". . . Her majestie hathe bene very sick this last
Oct. 15, 1572. night, so that my Lord of Leicester did watche with
her all night. This morning, thanks be to God! she
is very well. It was but a soden pang. I pray God
long to preserve her. These be shrewde alarmes."
—Sir Thos. Smith to Burghley.

No. 109a,
Æt. 39. ". . . it is spoken the Quene's Matie hathe bene
Oct. 16, 1572. lately syke of the smalle pockes, & as yett no sartenty
is here of hur Mate's recovere, or pftt helth."
—Earl of Shrewsbury to Burghley.

No. 110,
Æt. 39. "He (the messenger going to Paris) can also tell
Oct. 20, 1572. you of a sudden alarm specially yesternight, by her
Majestie being suddenly sick in her stomach, and as
suddenly relieved by a vomit. You must think such
a matter would drive men to the end of their wits,
but God is the stay of all that put their trust in Him."
—Burghley to Walsingham.

No. 111,
Æt. 39. ". . . we perceave that you had hard of som late
Oct. 22, 1572. siknes wherewith we weare visited; . . . True it is
that we were about XIII dayes paste distempered as
commonly happenith in the begynning of a fever;
but after twoo or three daies, without any great inward
siknes, ther began to appere certain red spotts in som

parte of our face, likely to proove the small pox ; but, thanked be God, contrary to the expectation of our phisycians, & all others about us, the same so vanished awaye as within foure or fyve dayes passed no token almost appeered ; and at this day, we thank God, we are so free from any token or marke of any suche disease that none can conjecture any suche thing. So as by this you may perceave what war our siknes, and in what good estate we be ; . . .” Elizabeth to Earl of Shrewsbury, Lodge’s *Ill.*, vol. ii. p. 79.

No. IIIA,
Æt. 39.
Oct. 26, 1572. “The Queen has been very ill and the malady proved to be small-pox. Before the eruption declared itself, the earl of Leicester, the Treasurer, and the Earl of Bedford were closteted together several times to arrange in case the Queen died, to proclaim as King one of the two sons of the earl of Hertford by Lady Catherine . . .”—Unsigned letter of intelligence from London to Duke of Alba.

Group 16.—Æt. 39 (October, 1572, to January, 1573)

No. II2,
Æt. 39.
Oct. 27, 1572. Elizabeth tells Fénélon that the last time he was at Windsor, she was unable to see him “because she had a bad stomach owing to her having taken a little mithridate.”—Fénélon to Paris.

No. II3,
Æt. 39.
Nov. 1572. “We have no news here, only that her Majestie is in good health ; and though you may hear of brutes of the contrary, I assure you it is not as hath been reported. Somewhat her Majestie hath been troubled with a spice or show of Mother, but indeed not so : The fits that she hath had hath not been above a quarter of an hour, but yet this little thing in her hath bred strange brutes here at home. God send her, I beseech Him, a long life. . . .”—Leicester to Walsingham.

No. II4,
Æt. 39.
Nov. 4, 1572. “Her Majestie ys at this present, and hath byn all this last Night veary well, and tooke not so good Rest this great while . . .”—Leicester to Burghley (2nd letter of same date).

No. II5.
Æt. 39.
Nov. 4, 1572. “My Lord, yesternight about six a Clock, I receaved your Letres, and could not have present Occasione to deall with her Majestie touching the

contents of them, for she was at her wonted repose."
—Leicester to Burghley. (Murdin, 230.)

No. 116,
Æt. 39.
Jan. 7, 1573. The rebels against James in Scotland who held Edinburgh Castle would not make any compromise, "alleging . . . the Queen of England to be in great danger of her life, (and) they looked daily for men and money out of France. . . ."—Henry Killigrew to Sir Thos. Smith from Berwick.

Group 17.—Æt. 41 (December, 1574)

No. 117,
Æt. 41.
Dec. 5, 1574. "The Queen has been very unwell last week, and the secret murmurs in Court, and amongst all over the country, as to what will become of the country in case of the Queen's death were very remarkable. God grant her health, for upon the life of such depends the welfare of this realm. The Catholics wish . . . to proclaim the queen of Scots, and the heretics to take up arms against her and proclaim the son of the Earl of Hartford . . . the people threaten, in the event of the above happening, to kill all foreigners; but God preserve the life of the Queen for many happy years."—De Guaras from Lond. to Zayas.

Group 18.—Æt. 42 (June, 1575)

No. 118,
Æt. 42.
June 10,
1575. "Her Majestie, God be thanked, is better since her fyrst coming hither, and this day was once about to have taken physick, but fynding herself very well, deferred it. God send her no nede to take any these many yeres! I cannot send your Lordship certen word of her remove, neyther yet is she resolved whether to go to York or no; her desire is great that way, I perceive, and it is lyke, if she find her health well, that she will go thither. It wyl be these three or four days ere she wyl determyne it; . . ."—Leicester to Burghley. (She did not go on to York.)

No. 119,
Æt. 42.
June 28,
1575. "I will lett your Lordship understand such newes as we have, which is only and chiefly of her Majestie's good health, which, God be thanked, is as good as I have knowen it. . . . And since her coming hither, as oft as weather serves, she hathe not bene within dores. . . ."—Leicester to Burghley.

Group 19.—Æt. 44 (1577)

No. 120,
Æt. 44.
1577.

" . . . The said Queen of Scotland had replied that she was better than the Queen, (Elizabeth), and that she knew well that the Queen was subject to a failure of the heart which returned every month, so that the Queen of Scotland was hoping a better fortune in this country."—Anonymous letter, Scottish Series, *Dom. S. P.* 1577. (The Queen of Scots was never well after her 19th year.)

No. 120a,
Æt. 44.
NEW
1577.

" The queen was in some part of this year under excessive anguish by pains of her teeth ; in so much that she took no rest for divers nights, and endured very great torment night and day."—Strype. Not contemporary.

Group 20.—Æt. 44½ to 45 (January to October, 1578)

No. 121,
Æt. 44½.
Jan. 6, 1578.

" By persons that have some knowledge of the Court of England I am apprised that the said Queen's physicians deem her life in danger. They say that she has hardly ever had the purgations proper to all women, but that instead nature has come to the rescue by establishing an issue in one of her legs, which has never been scanty of flow. But the Queen has fallen ill, and at present seems to be quite dried up, nor know the physicians how to find a remedy for this mishap."—Enclosure in a letter from Salviati, Nuncio in France, to the Cardinal of Como.

No. 122,
Æt. 45.
Oct. 17, 1578.

" The Queen has been marvellous ill many days with a pain in her cheek."—Leicester to Burghley. *C. of St. Pap. Dom.* 1547-1580, p. 601.

Group 21.—Æt. 46, 47, 48-51 (April, 1580, to November, 1584)

No. 123,
Æt. 46.
April 22,
1580.

" The Queen . . . has also been a little ill and has almost always kept to her chamber since I saw her, because of a headache and a nervous headache."—De Castelnau to Paris from London. The context shows that Elizabeth had been afflicted as described for more than a fortnight, and we only know that at the end of that period she was not recovered.

No. 124,
Æt. 46.
July 1, 1580. "The Quene, our Sovereigne, beinge perswaded by her physitions, did enter into a bathe on Sunday last; & eyther by takinge colde, or other accident, did presentlye fall sicke, & so did continewe two dayes, but nowe is very well recovered againe."—Thos. Bawdewn to Earl of Shrewsbury.

No. 125,
Æt. 46.
July 1, 1580. "Assures himself of the affection and good zeal which he bears to the Queen of England, and during some discourse which he had lately with her, he let her know the great regard he had for her health, in sending so often by his people to know how she was in her last sickness, and the desire that he had for her good convalescence . . ."—Burghley to French Ambassador. This must refer to some illness prior to the last mentioned, and subsequent to the one before that, and plainly indicates that it was an illness of some considerable duration and intensity.

No. 126,
Æt. 46.
July 5, 1580. "The day following the said audience, the Queen your good sister fell ill with the whooping cough accompanied with a high fever . . ."—Mauvissière, French Ambassador to Lond., to Paris.

No. 127,
Æt. 47.
June 25, 1581. "The Queen is quite recovered."—Walsingham to Burghley.

No. 128,
Æt. 50.
Dec. 17,
1583. "Her Majesty had deferred signing certain papers till next day on account of her headache . . ."—Robt. Beale to Walsingham from Windsor.

No. 129,
Æt. 51.
Oct. 29,
1584. "Illness of Her Majesty through eating, for breakfast, a confection of barley . . ."—Hatton to Burghley.

No. 130,
Æt. 51.
Nov.—, 1584. "About four or five years ago you (Elizabeth) being ill and I also at the same time, she (the Countess of Shrewsbury) told me that your malady came from the closing of a fistula that you had in one leg; and that coming to lose your monthly period, you would very soon die . . ."—Mary Queen of Scots to Elizabeth.

Group 22.—Æt. 52 (September, 1585)

No. 131,
Æt. 52.
Sept. 21 (?),
1585. "I find her Ma^{ie} very desirous to stey me she makes the cause only the doubtfullnes of her own self, by reason of her often decease taking her of late & this last night worst of all, she used very pittypfull words to

me of her fear she shall not lyve, & wold not have me fr^o hir. Ye can consider what man^r of persuasion this must be to me fro her and therefore I wold not say much for any matter but did comfort her as much as I could only I did lett her know how farr I had gon in preperacon. I doe think for all this yf she is well to night she wyll lett me goe, for she wold not have me speake of yt to the contrary to any boddy. This much I thought good to lett ye know . . ."—Leicester to Walsingham.

Group 23.—Æt. 52 (February, 1586, to July, 1586)

No. 132,
Æt. 52.
Feb. 17,
1586.

"Since I wrote last about England (on Feb. 1) the Queen-mother has received news from there that the Queen had been for four hours speechless, and as if dead, in a swoon, this being an indisposition to which she is occasionally liable."—Mendoza to Madrid from Paris.

No. 133,
Æt. 52.
June 30,
1586.

"When the Queen was going to chapel the other day, as usual in full magnificence, she was suddenly overcome with a shock of fear, which affected her to such an extent that she at once returned to her apartment, greatly to the wonder of those present."—Unsigned advices from London to the King of Spain.

No. 133a,
Æt. 52.
NEW
July 9, 1586.

"That Queen (Elizabeth) going of late to her Church, was in the Way sodanelye stricken with some great Fear, that she retorned to her Chamber, to the Admiration of all that were present."—Thos. Morgan from Paris to Mary Stuart, Murdin, p. 529.

Group 24.—Æt. 53 (1587)

No. 134,
Æt. 53.
May 20,
1587.

"The latter (Cecil) writes (apparently to the English Ambassador in Paris) that . . . it was feared she would not live long."—Mendoza from Paris to Madrid.

Group 25.—Æt. 55 (1588—Armada year)

No. 135,
Æt. 55.
Nov. 5, 1588.

"The Queen is much aged and spent, and is very melancholy. Her intimates say that this is caused by the death of the earl of Leicester; but it is very evident that it is rather the fear she underwent and the burden she has upon her."—Marco Antonio

Miscea, of Genoa, to King of Spain, entitled "Advices from England."

NOTE.—No records have been discovered of any ill health subsequent to the last item above, when Elizabeth was two months past her 56th year, and prior to March, 1596, a period of $7\frac{1}{2}$ years, which ended when she was $62\frac{1}{2}$.

Group 26.—Æt. 62½, 63 (1596)

No. 136,
Æt. 62½.
March 15,
1596.

"I know you are, as we all here have been, in melancholy and pensive cogitation. This *aumnia*, or sleepless indisposition of her majesty, is now ceased, which, being joined with inflammation from the breast upward, did more than terrify us all, especially the last Friday in the morning. Which moved the lods of the Council, when they had providently caused all the vagrants hereabouts to be taken up and shipped for the Low Countries, to draw some munition to the court; and the great horses from Reading, to guard the receipt at Westminster; to take order for the navy to lie in the narrow seas; and to commit some gentlemen, hunger-starved for innovations, as sir Edward Bainham, Catesby, Tresham, two Wrights, &c., and afterward the count Arundel, to a gentleman's house, for speeches used by the foresaid turbulent spirits as concerning him; or for that he hath lately made some provision of armor."—Camden to Sir Robt. Cotton.

No. 137,
Æt. 63.
Nov. 14,
1596.

"I was advertised this evening . . . that her Majestie deferred her remove unto Wednesday . . . being right sorry for the cause . . . lett her Majesty know that I do send to heare of her Majesty's amendment . . ."—Wm. Burghley to Sir Robt. Cecil.

Group 27.—Æt. 64 to 65 (1597, 1598)

No. 138,
Æt. 64.
Aug. 9 (?),
1597.

"The Queen hath a desperate ache in her right thumb, but will not be known of it, nor the gout it *cannot* be nor *dare* not be, but to sign will not be injured. If, therefore, I find that unlikely before your departure, I will write in her name . . ."—Sec. Cecil to Essex.

No. 139,
Æt. 64.
Dec. 8, 1597.

Elizabeth sent word "that the night before she was attacked by such a catarrh of the teeth that she could not see me to-day and perhaps not to-morrow . . .

(But he was finally seen upon that date, when she remarked to him) that the day previous she had been very ill with inflammation on the right side of her face . . . (and) that she could not recollect when she had found herself so ill. . . . Her throat shows itself very wrinkled as far as one may see above the necklace which she wears at the neck, but lower down she still has a very white and fine skin. . . . As to her countenance it is very much aged, and is long and thin in comparison with what it was formerly, according to what they say. She has very yellow teeth that are uneven in comparison with what she formerly had according to what they say, and on the left side less than on the right. She lacks many of them, as the result of which one cannot understand her readily when she speaks quickly . . .”—Journal of M. de Maisse, French Ambassador, of his visit to London.

No. 140,
Æt. 65.
1598.

Hentzner describes her at this time “. . . her Face oblong, fair, but wrinkled ; her Eyes small, yet black and pleasant ; her Nose a little Hooked ; her Lips narrow, and her Teeth black . . . she wore false Hair, and that red ; . . . Her Bosom was uncovered, as all the English ladies have it, till they marry ; . . . her Hands were small, her Fingers long, and her Stature neither tall nor low ; . . .”—Hentzner's Travels, pp. 48 and 49.

Group 28.—Æt. 65 to 66 (1599)

No. 141,
Æt. 65.
Jan. 12, 1599.

“ Elizabeth ill.”—French Ambassador.

No. 142,
Æt. 65.
Jan. 25, 1599.

“ Elizabeth ill.”—French Ambassador.

No. 143,
Æt. 65½.
Mar. 18,
1599.

“ The health of the Queen seems to me much diminished, and if God were to call her, and the King of Spain had an army ready, England would soon come to grief . . .”—French Ambassador to Paris.

No. 144,
Æt. 66.
Aug. 29,
1599.

“ Her Majesty, God be thanked, is in good health, and likes well Nonsuch Ayre. Here hath many Rumore bene bruted of her, very strange, without any Reason, which troubled her Majestie a little ; for she wold say, ‘ Mortua sed non sepulta.’”—Rowland Whyte to Robt. Sydney.

No. 145,
Æt. 66.
Sept. —,
1599.

"At her majesty's returning from Hampton Court, the day being passing foul, she would (as her custom is) go on horseback, although she is scarce able to sit upright, and my lord Hundson said, 'It was not meet for one of her majesty's years to ride in such a storm.' She answered, in great anger, 'My years! Maids, to your horses quickly'; and so rode all the way, not vouchsafing any gracious countenance to him for two days."—Lord Semple of Beltreis, Scottish Ambassador in London, to James VI.

Group 29.—Æt. 67 (1600)

No. 146,
Æt. 67.
July 9, 1600.

"In the Late Convencion the K[ing] gave it out very constantly but in secrett and indirectly that her Majestie was sick and in perill;"—Geo. Nichols to Sir Robt. Cecil from Edinburgh.

No. 147,
Æt. 67.
July (?),
1600.

I do see the Queen often; she doth wax weak since the late troubles, and Burleigh's death often draws tears from her goodly cheeks; she walketh out but little, meditates much alone, and sometimes writes in private to her best friends. Her Highness hath done honour to my poor house by visiting me . . . at going up stairs she called for a staff, and was much wearied in walking about the house, and said she wished to come another day . . ."—Sir Robt. Sydney to Sir John Harrington.

No. 148,
Æt. 67.
Late 1600.

" . . . she being now an old woman, was no lesse crooked in minde than in body."—Camden, 172, quoting Essex.

Group 30.—Æt. 68 (1601)

No. 149,
Æt. 68.
May, 1601.

Henry IV. of France laying definite plans for the situation to arise on death of Elizabeth.

No. 149a,
Æt. 68.
NEW
Oct. 9, 1601.

"She (Elizabeth) is quite disfavored (That is, changed in countenance.—F. C.) and unattired; and these troubles waste her much. She disregardeth every costly cover (Dish.—F. C.) that cometh to the table; and taketh little but manchet and succory pottage. . . . She walks much in her privy chamber; and stamps with her feet at ill news; and thrusts her rusty sword at times into the arras (Tapestry that covered the walls.—F. C.) in great rage . . . the dangers (Of Essex's

rebellion.—F. C.) are over, and yet she always keeps a sword by her table . . . so disordered is all order that her highness hath worn but one change of raiment for many days ; and swears much at those that cause her griefs in such wise . . .”—Letter from Elizabeth's godson, Sir John Harrington, to Sir Hugh Portman, in *Nugæ Antiquæ*, vol. i. p. 46, ed. 1769.

“The Queen in all her robes had fallen the first day of the parliament, if some gentlemen had not suddenly cast themselves under that side that tottered, and supported her.”—Lord Henry Howard (acting for Sir Robert Cecil) to the Earl of Marr (acting for James VI.), *Secret Corresp. of Cecil and James*, by Haile, p. 26.

“Whilst the duke of Lennox was on his embassy in France, news came that the Queen was dangerously ill. The King of France being with some of the princes, one of them said that once upon a time on a similar occasion a bastard of Normandy conquered England ; . . .”—Statement of a Spy of the Adelantado of Castile. He left Bristol November 22.

Group 31.—Æt. 68½ to 69 and 5 mos. (1602)

“Elizabeth has had three or four days of pain in her left arm.”—French Ambassador to Paris.

“I was sorry to hear of the Queen's ‘craziness,’ and pray for her long and perfect health as the main pillar of our general good.”—Geo. Gilpin from The Hague.

Her arm still troubles her. “. . . she (Elizabeth) is in very good health, but taking this year less exercise than she is used to, for her arm still troubles her and prevents her riding on horseback.”—M. de Beaumont, French Ambassador, to his King.

Elizabeth tells French Ambassador at London “that she was a-weary of life” and with sighs and tears bemoans Essex and explains why she beheaded him.

“Wednesday night the Queen was not well, but would not be known of it, for the next day she walked abroad in the park, lest any should take notice of it. . . . The day of the remove, Her Majesty rode on horseback all the way, which was ten miles, and also hunted, and

No. 150,
Æt. 68.
NEW
Oct. 27,
1601.

No. 151,
Æt. 68.
Nov. 22,
1601.

No. 152,
Æt. 68½.
Jan. 29, 1602.

No. 153,
Æt. 68½.
Feb. 20,
1602.

No. 154,
Æt. 68½.
April 8, 1602.

No. 155,
Æt. 68 and
10 mos.
June, 1602.

No. 156,
Æt. 69.
Aug. 6, 1602.

whether she was weary or not I leave to your censure."
—Earl of Northumberland to Lord Cobham.

No. 157,
Æt. 69.
Uncertain ;
Essex d.
Feb. 25, 1601. "Our queen is troubled with a rheum in her arm, which vexeth her very much. . . . She sleepeth not so much by day as she used, neither taketh rest by night. Her delight is to sit in the dark, and sometimes with shedding tears to bewail Essex."—Rept. of unknown correspondent of James VI. from London, Advocates' Lib., Edinb., A1, 34, n. 35.

No. 158,
Æt. 69.
Nov. 26,
1602. ". . . she can do no more, and her strength is so exhausted that when she has been on horseback for an hour she has to rest for two days."—French Ambassador to Paris.

No. 159,
Æt. 69.
Dec. 27,
1602. Our dear Queen . . . doth bear show of human infirmity, too fast for that evil which we shall get by her death, and too slow for that good which we shall get by her releasement from pain and misery. It was not many days since I was bidden to her presence . . . I . . . found in her a most pitiable state . . . I replied that I had seen him (Tyrone, for whom she inquired) with my Lord Deputy (Essex). She looked up with much choler and grief in her countenance . . . and hereat she dropped a tear and smote her bosom. She held in her hand a golden cup which she often put to her lips ; but in sooth her heart seemeth too full to lack more filling. (Later the same day she said to him) 'Thou seest my bodily meat doth not suit me well ; I have eaten but one ill-tasted cake since yesternight. She rated most grievously at noon at some who minded not to brung certain matters of account. Several men had been sent to, and when ready at hand, Her Highness hath dismissed them in anger.'—Sir John Harrington to his wife.

Group 32.—Æt. 69-4m. to 69-8m. (1603)

No. 160,
Æt. 69 and
4 mos.
Jan. 12 to
Feb. 20,
1603. She took cold on the 12th January, 1603, and on the 14th moved to Richmond, but before this had begun to see visions. The French Ambassador states that she complained of "her left arm, which had pained her for three or four days . . ." This was on January 29th. She appears to have conquered the cold, but on the 20th of February she began to fail rapidly.

No. 161,
Æt. 69 and
7 mos.
March 9,
1603.

" . . . for although she hath good appetite, hath neither cough nor fever, distemper nor inordinate desyre to drinke, yet she is troubled with heat in her brestes and drynes in her mouth and tongue, which keepes her from sleepe every night greatly to her disquiet. And this is all, whatsoever you hear otherwise ; for which she never kept her bedd, but was within theise three dayes in the garden."—Robt. Cecil to James VI.

No. 162,
Æt. 69 and
7 mos.
Mar. 10-24,
1603.

The almonds of her throat swelled, and apparently an abscess broke there. Dr. James Rae concludes that influenza carried her off at last. With the sore throat came loss of appetite, complete melancholy and great weakness. She gradually wasted away until the 24th of March when the end came.

General Notes on her Physique

No. 163.

No contemporary appears to have spoken of any colour in her face, that is, red colour. The whites of her eyes were gray in the last years, there is a lack of eyebrows and lashes in her portraits, considered as a whole, and there was a thick net of blue veins apparent about the temples. Robt. Johnston, a contemporary, says that "her skin was of pure white." He also said, "A pleasing face, dignified form, were not even missing in middle age. With the advance of years and the approach of old age [she was] deformed with wrinkles, emaciated, with hollow cheeks ; so that her fine features and beauty could not be recognized."—*Historia Britannicarum*, p. 346.

NOTE BY THE COMPILER.—(1) With respect to the ulcer on the leg ; it is first mentioned in July, 1569. Nearly nine years later it is reported (Item 121, in Jan. 1578) to be then dried up ; and by Item 130 referring substantially to the time of Item 121, it would seem fairly evident that this affection endured for about nine years. (2) By Item 97 it would appear that Elizabeth had been regularly bled. She was then in her 39th year ; and the inference from her statement is that she admitted she had been wrong in discontinuing the bleedings and would resume them. By

p. 4 we know that her sister Mary was bled for amenorrhœa. For what other cause could Elizabeth be regularly bled? Is it not extremely probable that her apparently better health from her 55th to her 63rd year is largely due to the discontinuance of the regular bleedings when she was 54, as the reason for them had ceased to exist?

CHAPTER V

MEDICAL EXPERTS ON THE MEDICAL RECORD

AS said in the headnote preceding the Medical Record comprised in the last chapter, that document as printed (except for additions designated "New,") was presented to five gentlemen, four of whom the medical profession of all countries acknowledge to be at least the equals of any living authorities. Moreover, all of them are also historical students and writers of the first rank.

A fifth copy was submitted to Doctor Howard, who is a good example of the combined physician and surgeon actually engaged in everyday practice with its bewildering demands upon the most varied knowledge that medical science has acquired. We felt that the opinion of such a man, between forty and fifty years of age, was necessary to supplement that of the four older men whose days of actual practice are ended ; who now occupy those positions as teachers and guides which are the greatest prizes of their profession.

With only one of these gentlemen, Doctor Howard, had we any personal acquaintance. To all of them, with the exception of Doctor Doran, whose Opinion had previously been received, Ten Questions were submitted. As, however, Doctor Doran's conclusions are substantial replies to the Questions, it was thought best to leave his Opinion as it was handed to us.

The Ten Questions were preceded by this

PRELIMINARY NOTE

The following contemporary references to the ill-health of Queen Elizabeth have been brought together by a layman as a result of more than five years' research, with a new life of her as its object. The compiler now seeks to obtain for the purpose of publication the opinion of the best medical authorities upon the pathological significance of the accompanying

data. The opinions submitted by these medical scholars will be published *in extenso* under their names. Their collaboration to the extent indicated should produce an historical document of the first importance ; the points raised should require no further examination, but be accepted as scientifically disposed of for all time.

The compiler begs to submit several specific inquiries to which he would like replies as specific as the diagnosis will permit ; but he begs each expert not to confine his response to these questions, if there be others which appear to him to arise ; in other words, it is requested that each medical man will make his reply as extensive and broad as he thinks necessary for a proper treatment of the matter.

THE TEN QUESTIONS

Upon the data herewith submitted—

Q. 1.—Was Elizabeth, speaking of her life as a whole, probably a woman of exceptionally strong physique ?

Q. 2.—Was she a woman, speaking of her life as a whole, who could properly be described as one of good health ?

Q. 3.—Was she afflicted habitually with ill-health, except possibly during the years in the following data for which there are no references to any sickness ?

Q. 4.—What was her probable health during the years for which there are no data supplied ?

(Note.—With reference to the missing years between 1588 and 1596, it should be stated that the chief diplomatic sources which had been in existence for the most of the remainder of her career are not open, nor is there any indication of what they might reveal, for there was neither Austrian, Spanish, nor Venetian Ambassador at London, and the records of the French Ambassadors are substantially lacking for the entire period mentioned.)

Q. 5.—Did she or did she not probably have a strong constitution ?

Q. 6.—Would it, or would it not, be too much to say that she was practically an invalid ever after her fifteenth year, with the possible exception of the years for which no data are supplied directly or indirectly ?

Q. 7.—Is any of her ill-health due to her father's disease, and if so, in what particulars ?

Q. 8.—What diseases did she have in your judgment based upon the data submitted, and what were their reactions upon her physique ?

Q. 9.—What would be the natural effect of such diseases upon the nervous system of a woman with her medical record ? Upon her temper ? Upon her patience ?

Q. 10.—Will you please describe her general health throughout her career ?—if you have not already done so in answering previous questions.

The five Opinions to which we shall now call attention represent the deliberate judgment of their authors given upon the Medical Record alone. All the opinions were given gratuitously, and there is no possibility that any of these experts could be guided by any motive except that of discovering the true physical and mental condition of the Great Queen.

OPINION OF SIR WILLIAM OSLER, BART.

M.D., LL.D., M'Gill, Toronto, Aberdeen, Edinburgh, Yale, Harvard, Johns Hopkins ; D.Sc. Oxford, Cambridge, Dublin, Liverpool, and Leeds ; D.C.L. Durham, Trinity Univ. Toronto ; M.D. Christiana ; F.R.S., F.R.C.P. ; Regius Professor of Medicine at Oxford ; late Professor of Medicine at Johns Hopkins Univ. ; late Professor of the Institutes of Medicine at M'Gill Univ. ; late Professor of Clinical Medicine at Univ. of Penn. ; late Presid. of The Bibliographical Soc. ; Publications—*Cerebral Palsies of Children* ; *Chorea and Choreiform Affection* ; *The Principles and Practice of Medicine*, 8th ed. ; *Lectures on Abdominal Tumours, on Angina Pectoris and Allied States* ; *Monograph on Cancer of the Stomach* ; *Science and Immortality* ; *Æquinimitas and Other Addresses* ; *Counsels and Ideals* ; Ed. of *A System of Medicine* ; *Thomas Linacre* ; *An Alabama Student*, and other bibliographical essays ; *A Way of Life* (1914).

Q. 1.—Was Elizabeth, speaking of her life as a whole, probably a woman of exceptionally strong physique.—*No*.

Q. 2.—Was she a woman, speaking of her life as a whole, who could properly be described as one of good health ?—*No*.

Q. 3.—Was she afflicted habitually with ill-health, except possibly during the years in the following data for which there are no references to any sickness ?—*Impossible to say*.

Q. 4.—What was her probable health during the years for which there are no data supplied ?—*Impossible to say*.

Q. 5.—Did she or did she not probably have a strong constitution ?—*A strongly neurotic one*.*

* That is, one with strongly diseased nerves.—F. C. I take it that a rough similarity in sound has led to the present tendency to confusion among the general public of *erotic*, *neurotic*, and *neuropathic*. So far has this curious tendency prevailed that substantially all except purists in our tongue and medical men understand the three terms to be interchangeable, and *neurotic* is the favourite term for the meaning of the other two. Osler, of course, speaks with the exactness of the medical man.

Q. 6.—Would it, or would it not, be too much to say that she was practically an invalid ever after her fifteenth year, with the possible exception of the years for which no data are supplied directly or indirectly?—*No. Probably far too much was made of her illnesses. Many attacks were nothing but "a spice or show of the Mother."* V.P. 19.

Q. 7.—Is any of her ill-health due to her father's disease, and if so, in what particulars?—*The ulcer is the only suspicious feature.*

Q. 8.—What diseases did she have in your judgment based upon the data submitted, and what were their reactions upon her physique?—*Apart from the dropsy, which may have been nephritis, and the small-pox, the descriptions are too indefinite to base any opinion of much value. She had the "vapours" (i.e. spleen, hypochondriasis, and hysteria) all her life, and considering the way she must have been bedieted by the doctors and politicians it is remarkable that there is such a record to her credit.*

Q. 9.—Unanswered.

Q. 10.—Unanswered.

OPINION OF SIR CLIFFORD ALLBUTT

K.C.B., M.A., M.D., D.Sc. Oxford, D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.C.P., Fellow and V.-Pres. of The Royal Society; Regius Professor of Physic in the University of Cambridge; F.S.A., F.L.S., Dep.-Lieut. West Riding, Yorks.; J.P. Cambs.; Consulting Physician Leeds Gen. Infirmary, Belgrave Hosp. for Children and King Edward VII. Sanatorium, Midhurst; Physician Addenbrookes Hosp. Camb.; Commissioner in Lunacy; Member of Committee of Home Office on Trade Diseases, on Nat. Med. Research, etc., etc. Publications—*The Ophthalmoscope in Medicine; Goulstonian Lectures on Visceral Neuroses, and on Scrofula; Lane Lectures on Diseases of the Heart; Science and Medieval Thought; The Historical Relations of Medicine and Surgery*; Editor of *A System of Medicine and Gynæcology; Fitzpatrick Lectures on Greek Medicine in Rome, 1909-10; Diseases of the Arteries and Angina Pectoris, 1915.* Inventor of the short clinical thermometer.

Q. 1.—Was Elizabeth, speaking of her life as a whole, probably a woman of exceptionally strong physique?—*No.*

Q. 2.—Was she a woman, speaking of her life as a whole, who could properly be described as one of good health?—*No.*

Q. 3.—Was she afflicted habitually with ill-health, except possibly during the years in the following data for which there are no references to any sickness?—*Yes.*

Q. 4.—What was her probable health during the years for which there are no data supplied?—*Probably fair, or the rumours would have found their way into the documentary evidence. (But here see saving note p. 2).* (The saving note plainly refers to the note following Q. 4 in the MSS., on p. 2

thereof, stating that all usual diplomatic sources were lacking between 1588 and 1596.)

Q. 5.—Did she or did she not probably have a strong constitution?—*As 1 and 2.* (That is “*No.*”—F. C.).

Q. 6.—Would it, or would it not, be too much to say that she was practically an invalid ever after her fifteenth year, with the possible exception of the years for which no data is supplied directly or indirectly?—*It would be too much.*

Q. 7.—Is any of her ill-health due to her father’s disease and if so, in what particulars?—*No evidence.*

Q. 8.—What diseases did she have, in your judgment based upon the data submitted, and what were their reactions upon her physique?—*See letter herewith.* (The letter is as follows.—F. C.):—

“ St. Radegynd’s,
“ Cambridge.

“ I have read the MS. with much interest but in quite an uncritical way. I am no authority on the Med. Hist. of 16th cent.—if on any period it is Greek and Gr. Latin. My impression is that in England XVIth cent. Medicine was below contempt. In Queen E.’s time Clowes did somewhat, and possibly Lowe; but really all the medicine of value (anatomy esp.) was in Italy; and only by studying in Italy cd. our doctors then have known anything. Some few did, of course. The rest were hard-shell Galenish & quacks.

“ I shd. guess that the first period of Qu. E.’s series of sicknesses was a renal dropsy (acute nephritis) * probably due to an infection; e.g. Scarlet Fever—then undifferentiated. From this she made a recovery. The more one reads of the history of Med. up to, say, 150 yrs ago, the more one is amazed at the ill-health, and short lives of many or most of the people. The conditions of life were abominable, & the doctors did their best to intensify the evil, and indeed to add evil to evil. I should guess the repeated fevers of the Queen which issued with no obvious result, may have been due to malaria.

“ I suspect moreover that the tittle-tattle of Courts, the subtlety of embassies, much exaggerated the symptoms of many of the indispositions; not to mention the *nimia cura* † of the Court doctors, with their venesections ‡ in an anæmic

* Acute nephritis—acute dropsy of the kidneys.—F. C.

† The too great care.—F. C.

‡ Blood-letting.—F. C.

(amenorrhœa) * woman & so forth. There is no conclusive evidence of syphilis (inherited).

"The ulcer of the leg was presumably common ulcer.

"She may have been subject to migraine † but not I think to a syphilitic periostitis.‡ (Mary may have had Interstitial Keratitis).§ (Sight very bad.)

"Yours very truly,

"CLIFFORD ALLBUTT."

Q. 9.—What would be the natural effect of such diseases upon the nervous system of a woman with her medical record? —*Presumably to affect temper rather than judgment.*

Q. 10.—Will you please describe her general health throughout her career?—if you have not already done so in answering previous questions.—*See letter.*

OPINION OF ALBAN DORAN

F.R.C.S.; formerly House Phys. St. Bartholomew's Hosp., London; formerly House Surg. *idem.*; Asst. to Mus. Roy. Coll. Surgs.; Presid. Obstetrical Soc. of London; Surg. to Samaritan Free Hosp. for Women, 1877-1909; probably greatest living authority on diseases of women; author of *Clinical and Pathological Observations on Tumours of the Ovary, Fallopian Tubes and Broad Ligament*, of *Handbook of Gynæcological Operations*; author of chapter on Medicine in *Shakespeare's England*, etc., etc.

Notes on the Weak Health of Queen Elizabeth

The records of this essay show that though Queen Elizabeth lived to be an old woman, she was always ailing and never robust. A glance at the Index will aid us greatly in understanding how often she was ailing, yet managed to recover. On the ulcers, dropsy, and gout, it is not profitable to dwell; the nature of the first is mysterious; perhaps the Queen's clothes were faultily arranged; perhaps they represented some skin-disease due to errors of diet, or possibly they were really symptoms of syphilitic taint. "Blain," "ulcer," "sore," "abscess," "boil," and "imposthume" are confounded in sixteenth-century writings, especially in second-hand reports not written by doctors, and the same may be said of dropsy and gout. The catamenia were no doubt disturbed at times,

* Amenorrhœa—stoppage of the monthly periods.—F. C.

† Sick headache.—F. C.

‡ Inflammation of the membrane surrounding the bones.—F. C.

§ Interstitial keratitis "is a chronic malady which is seen chiefly, perhaps exclusively, in the subjects of inherited syphilis."—F. C.

but the most robust women may suffer badly from dysmenorrhœa, menorrhagia, or amenorrhœa.

A fair idea can, on the other hand, be obtained by a review of certain facts in association with Queen Elizabeth, which show us that she ailed all through her life, and that she was subjected to evils which often cause and always keep up ill-health. We will consider, then, her family history, her youth and exposure to eye-strain, her attire which impeded respiration and constricted the body, her doubtful fits, and, especially, her carious teeth. In conclusion, the two reported attacks of small-pox will be briefly discussed.

The "family history," as doctors would say, must be carefully considered in the case of Elizabeth. Henry VIII. was forty-two years old when she was born. At forty, men were quite middle-aged in those days, and Henry had not led a very sober life. Too much stress must not be laid on the question of syphilis. Sir James Paget used to teach that when the subject was well-fed and lived free from the discomforts of poverty, his children rarely inherited syphilis. That Henry had intractable ulcers on his legs, there seems no doubt and they might have been "specific,"* but it is more likely that they were associated with varicose veins (common in men who wore garters), especially as the tissues of the limb were probably anasarcaous or dropsical through visceral diseases to which a man of Henry's self-indulgent habits would be very liable. These visceral disorders were but imperfectly understood in the sixteenth century. Elizabeth may have inherited syphilis, but on the whole her feebleness, if really inherited, was more likely such as is not rarely observed in persons born of fathers in middle life and of impaired constitutions.

The Princess Elizabeth was exposed to many influences likely to cause her great anxiety early in life, and still more during the regency of her brother, 1547-1553, and the reign of her sister, 1553 to 1558. In King Edward's reign she was but fourteen at his accession and twenty when he died. At that highly critical age the illness and death of her stepmother, Queen Katherine Parr, and the conduct of the Protector Somerset, must have caused her much physical and mental disturbance. It is quite impossible to determine, however, how far these bad influences led up to the princess's illness,

* That is, syphilitic. The euphemism is one universally employed by the English surgeon or physician in converse with laymen. It is one of the chief bulwarks of English morality.—F. C.

and how far they prevented her convalescence. In the first place, it is not possible to diagnose the illness or chronic indisposition which set in about midsummer, 1548. Queen Katherine had been married to the Protector's brother; she died, and then Admiral Seymour tried to seize the King, and to marry Elizabeth, to whom he behaved in a most scandalous manner. Seymour was beheaded in March, 1549. In the meantime, Elizabeth declared to her brother that she was "quite an invalid." She may have been badly lodged, hence the "rheums." The disease of the head and eyes associated with her declaration that "every description of learning" had been "wasted" on her might most reasonably be ascribed to defective sight. The print of books of learning in the sixteenth century, sometimes big and clear, was more frequently small and crabbed; and black-letter type, then much in vogue, is, as all students of old volumes know, very trying to the eyesight. Dr. George Gould in *Biographical Clinics: the Origin of the Ill-Health of De Quincey, Carlyle, Darwin, Huxley, and Browning* (London, 1903), though he overstates his case, has shown how very gravely health and comfort may be upset by defective sight. "Disease of the head and eyes" is therefore not suggestive. Myopia, hypermetropia, and astigmatism set up pains in the fore part of the head, aching of the eyeballs, and redness of the conjunctiva, and though the patient with any one of these defects has weak eyes, he or she is by no means doomed to *blindness*, which is due to causes different from such as produce defective "accommodation"—short eye, long eye, or irregular convexity of the crystalline lens. Elizabeth certainly studied hard, and Sir Edward Maunde Thompson states that she was "well versed in Italian calligraphy, and could, when required, produce a very handsome letter so written, although her handwriting in later years degenerated into the well-known straggling scrawl that confronts us in her letters written as queen" (*Shakespeare's England*, vol. i. p. 233). This deterioration of handwriting is often seen in association with failing eyesight. "Faulty accommodation," unrelieved by suitable glasses, may have played a prominent share in maintaining debility and low spirits.

When we look at the full-length portraits of Queen Elizabeth, it is clear that she must have suffered from tight-lacing. Corsets were very faultily constructed in her time, and the supports of the petticoats involved further impediments to free respiration. Shakespeare makes two of his ladies admit that they were victims to fashion. When the Lady Anne is

informed that she must come and be crowned with her wicked husband, she exclaims :

“ Ah, cut my lace asunder,
That my pent heart may have some scope to beat
Or else I swoon with this dead-killing news.”
Richard III., IV. 6.

Again, when Paulinia acquaints Leontes with the report of Hermione's death, she breaks down and cries :

“ O, cut my lace, least my heart cracking it,
Break too ! ”
Winter's Tale, III., 2.

These ladies, symbolic of the Queen and of women of fashion of the time, were all the worse, even when not the subject of shock due to bad news, for going about with heart and lungs not ready for emergencies. Sir Lauder Brunton (*Collected Papers on Circulation and Respiration*, Second Series, 1916, pp. 99, 101, 107-8, and 200) showed quite recently that anæsthetics, unknown in Elizabeth's days, have proved this fact. In one instance where death occurred, during anæsthesia from nitrous oxide (laughing-gas) supposed to be absolutely free from danger, the fatal result was, it seems, not due to the anæsthetic, but to asphyxia from tight-lacing. Queen Elizabeth was exposed to numerous emotional influences taxing her respiration and circulation, gravely impeded by constriction and dragging at the waist. The same compression displaces the important organs below the floor of the thorax, a source of several ills the least of which is severe discomfort, but its cause was, and certainly still is, often overlooked. Hour-glass constriction of the stomach is another well-known result of tight-lacing, which involves dyspepsia, and makes that organ intolerant of distension after meals, a frequent complication now, which must have been common in the sixteenth century, when diet involved a harder task on digestion than in these days of refined cookery, better quality in butcher's meat, and no small-beer on Royal tables. In short, Queen Elizabeth's health was, it is evident, much prejudiced by faulty corsets.

The fits which attacked her in 1572 are not clearly defined. The Queen, it was reported, was “troubled with a spice or show of Mother, but indeed not so: the fits that she hath had hath not been above a quarter of an hour, but yet this *little* (Italics mine.—A. D.) thing in her hath bred strange brutes here at home.” The first words in this quotation suggest

menstrual disorder, but the word "Mother" was well understood to mean hysterics. Dr. Needham in *Medela Medicinæ*, 1665, speaks of "*Hysterica-passio* or the *Mother*, because it seizeth upon women, though men too have sometimes something like it." Shakespeare makes Exeter admit an attack when relating to King Henry V. the death of York and Suffolk on the field of honour :

" And all my mother came into mine eyes,
And gave me up to tears."
Henry V., IV. 6.

Lear's hysteria is better remembered :

" Oh, how this mother swells up towards my heart !
Hysterica passio ! Down thou climbing sorrow,
Thy element's below."
Lear, II. 4.

The report adds a qualification the force of which is mysterious. It reads as though the Queen had been attacked by something *less* serious than hysterical fits. Epilepsy would be much worse, and just as *real* dropsy (ascites) or general anasarca in youth could hardly have troubled a woman who lived into her seventieth year, so true epilepsy at thirty-nine would have probably entailed grave mental symptoms and death long before 1603. Mild epileptic attacks associated with menstruation might possibly have occurred. It has been suggested that Elizabeth's last illness was general paralysis of the insane, usually due to syphilis ; but the evidence is not in favour of that theory. Nerve diseases were greatly misunderstood even down to the middle of the last century and these "clinical histories" of the Queen are obscured by medical terms often misapplied by the doctors of the day, and more often misinterpreted by modern medical writers. Just as "let" and "presently" were employed in a different sense to what they signify in modern English, so "fits," "apoplexy," and "lethargy" did not mean what modern medicine understands by these words.

In short, Queen Elizabeth does not seem to have had grave disorders of her nervous system, fatal even to the robust. She was rather, it appears, a weak woman easily shaken by minor ailments which simulated serious diseases.

One of the more common causes of impaired health very likely to be overlooked, is decay of the teeth. M. de Maisse, the French Ambassador, said in 1597 that the Queen had "very yellow teeth that are uneven in comparison with what

she formerly had . . . and on the left side less than on the right. She lacks many of them as the result of which one cannot understand her readily when she speaks quickly"; and a year later Hentzner says that then, when she was sixty-five years of age, her teeth were "black (a defect the English seem subject to, from their too great use of sugar)." Shakespeare makes Mercutio declare that the angry Mab plagues ladies' lips with blisters "because their breaths with sweetmeats tainted are,"* and the bard himself most unchivalrously admits in Sonnet CXXX. that "in some perfumes is there more delight than in the breath that from my mistress *reeks*." Sour breath, except when the tonsils are ulcerated, or certain other very definite local conditions are present, implies either decayed teeth or dyspeptic complications which lead to dental caries. Without doubt Elizabeth partook of sweetmeats with one result painfully evident to reliable witnesses; that she damaged her digestion, which must have entailed other complications than decay of the teeth, now admitted to be in turn a standing source of mischief. Fœtid germs reach the lungs, or get into the circulation, and set up morbid conditions in organs far from the mouth. A hollow carious tooth is also what pathologists call a good *cultivating* medium for specific germs of prevalent maladies. The extensive and conspicuous decay manifest in the Queen's old age meant that the process was of long standing. Hence the condition of the teeth was one of the clearest evidences that Elizabeth had for many years been far from strong; indeed she could not possibly have been healthy even had that condition alone troubled her.

The record of two attacks of small-pox must be taken as more than doubtful. That disease was by no means new or unfamiliar to the profession in the sixteenth century. *Variola* was known as "small pokkes" as early as 1518, and Simon Kelling or Kellwaye wrote the first English work on small-pox in 1503. (McCombie Allbutt's *System of Medicine*, 1597, vol. ii. p. 224.) It must have been known that "natural" small-pox, the only kind then in existence, long before inoculation was practised, gives prolonged, if not complete, immunity to the patient.

Yet Elizabeth, it is reported, had one attack of small-pox, when at Kingston, in October, 1562, and a second, when at Hampton Court, in September, 1572, after an incredibly short interval for re-infection. On October 25, 1562, the date of

* *Rom. and Jul.*, I. 4.

the *first* attack, De Quadra writes from London to the Duchess of Parma—"I advised your Highness of the Queen's illness. She is now out of bed, and *is only attending to the marks on her face to avoid disfigurement.*" On the seventh of the following February, De Quadra writes from London to Philip II. reporting that, during a discussion with the lords about the succession, Elizabeth "was extremely angry with them, and told them that *the marks which they saw upon her face were not wrinkles, but pits of small-pox,* and that though she might be old, God could send her children as He did to St. Elizabeth, and they (the lords) had better consider well what they were asking, as if she declared a successor it would cost much blood to England."

This dread of disfigurement which led the Queen to attend to the marks on her face was perfectly natural, and seems to prove that she really had an attack of true small-pox in 1562. Allusions to its effects on the face are not absent from sixteenth-century literature, though far more frequent in later ages. Not only does De Quadra refer to pitting of the face in the above quotation, but Shakespeare introduces a personal remark on that subject in *Love's Labour Lost*, to which, according to the opinion of so high an authority as Sir Sidney Lee, may reasonably be assigned priority in point of time of all Shakespeare's dramatic productions.* Rosalind says: "O that your face was not so full of O's!" and Katharine replies: "A pox upon that jest."†

The alleged second attack took place when the Queen was at Hampton Court in 1572. The illness was so severe that she never liked to go there afterwards. Fenelon's letter, written on October 13, 1572, does not clearly state that the disease was small-pox. A letter bearing the same date, written by Sir Thomas Smith to Walsingham, reports that the Queen was "perfectly whole, and *no sign* whatever left on her face." It is upon Camden, Elizabeth's contemporary, and Nichols, who writes some two centuries later and plainly relies altogether upon the former for substance and words even, that rests the diagnosis of the attack as small-pox. Camden says: "The Queene also herselfe, which hitherto had enjoyed very perfect health, (for shee never eate meate but when her Appetite served her, nor dranke Wine without alaying,) fell sick of the small poxe at Hampton Court. But shee recovered againe

* *A Life of Shakespeare*, ed. 1915, pp. 102 and 196. *Love's Labour Lost* was written about 1591, performed a year or two later, revised in 1597 for a Court performance, and published by Cuthbert Burbie in 1598.

† Act. V. Sc. II. 45, 46.

before it was heard abroad that she was sicke ” ;—and Nichols writes, “ The Queen, who had hitherto been very healthy (never eating without an appetite, nor drinking without soame ally,) fell sick of the small-pox at Hampton Court. But she recovered before there was any news of her being sick.” Camden is usually high authority, but the accuracy of his diagnosis of the second acute illness seems doubtful, especially as the Queen herself referred to pitting of her face at the time of the first attack and “ will not have it so ” (*i.e.* She would not believe that it was small-pox) in the case of the second one (Smith to Walsingham, Oct. 13, 1572) ; and, what is still more important and conclusive, she expressly says in her letter to Shrewsbury of Oct. 22, 1572, with reference to this second illness, writing some weeks after her recovery, “ we are so free from any token or marke of any suche disease that none can conjecture any suche thing.” The gravity of both attacks, whatever disease the second may really have been, is evident, and both must have impaired the Queen’s health ; but the wish was doubtless father to the thought when the Spaniard professed to dread the prospect of the patient’s death. Elizabeth, in the case of these two illnesses as at other periods of her life, seems to have been a sickly subject who was much reduced in strength by a febrile malady. Recovery did not prove that she was a strong woman, since weaklings attacked by epidemic diseases may weather the storm, whilst strong subjects succumb.

OPINION OF J. A. HOWARD, M.D., LONDON

Medical History of Queen Elizabeth

1.—Was Elizabeth, speaking of her life as a whole, a woman of exceptionally strong physique ?—*No.*

2.—Was she a woman, speaking of her life as a whole, who could properly be described as one of good health ?—*No.*

3.—Was she afflicted habitually with ill-health, except possibly during the years, in the following data, for which there are no references to any sickness ?—*Yes.*

4.—What was her probable health during the years for which there are no data supplied ?—*In the absence of evidence it is of course impossible to make any definite statement ; but as I consider that she was never in good health from her illness in the twenties up to 1588 and then after 1596 we find her a broken woman, it seems quite permissible to surmise that her health was of the same bad quality during the missing years.*

5.—Did she or did she not probably have a strong constitution?—*This question has no medical meaning and should be deleted. Anyway it is covered by 1, 2, and 7.*

6.—Would it, or would it not, be too much to say that she was practically an invalid ever after her fifteenth year, with the possible exception of the years for which no data are supplied directly or indirectly?—*This question is an unnecessary elaboration of No. 3.*

7.—Is any of her ill-health due to her father's disease, and if so, in what particulars?—*See my extended note.*

8.—What diseases did she have in your judgment based upon the data submitted, and what were their reactions upon her physique?—*See my extended note.*

9 and 10. Answered as last two above.

A. Are there any evidences of Elizabeth having Hereditary Syphilis?

1. There is just a possibility that the illness which lasted, with intermissions, from 15–19 years of age was a manifestation of Congenital Syphilis. The illness was characterized by anæmia, headaches, and some eye affection which might possibly have been a mild Interstitial Keratitis.

2. Ulcers: In 1566, age 33, No. 66, "She was so troubled with her indisposition, which is an issue on the shoulder."

In 1570, age 37, occurs the first reference to an intractable ulcer of the leg which gave great trouble, lameness, etc., for nine years. This may, of course, have been a "Common" or varicose ulcer; but taken in conjunction with the "issue on the shoulder" four years earlier, is strongly suspicious of a Specific Periostitis.

3. Alopecia: In No. 49, the author indicates that she became bald at about 31 years of age and remained so for the rest of her life. This is of doubtful value as evidence of Congenital Syphilis.

B. Her state of health from 15–19 has already been referred to. The references point to rather more serious ill-health than one would expect to find in an anæmic growing girl. Her headaches were evidently very severe and connected with some eye trouble. She says herself "a disease of the head and eyes has come upon me," and also refers to "the long duration of my illness"; and again to "the infirm state of my health." Also Thos. Parry, writing in excuse of her

illegible writing says that "her Grace's unhealth hath made it weaker and so unsteady." On the other hand she was subjected to such great mental strain about this period, on account of her importance in the disturbed politics of the time, that her health may well have been bad.

Then little more than a year later she has the most serious illness of her life.

C. On Dec. 6, 1553, she is taken suddenly ill while on a journey to Ashridge. There is no description of this illness, but we find two months later a Royal Commission sent by Queen Mary to examine into her state of health. The members of this Commission are evidently greatly impressed by the severity of the illness, and a little later she is described as having her whole body and even her face swollen with dropsy. This illness with dropsy at intervals, and also accompanied by jaundice and continuous shortness of breath, lasted for three or more years. Again, eight years later (aged 28) she is described as "dropsical and swollen extraordinarily."

Such an illness points to primary disease of the kidneys or heart. The dropsy of the face is rather in favour of kidney disease, but it seems hardly possible that the subject of a nephritis of so severe a type (note the recurrence eight years later) would live to nearly eighty. Again, the jaundice is more in favour of failing compensation from heart disease, and although the same objection as to longevity may be raised to a diagnosis of Acute Endocarditis and Mitral regurgitation, there is a greater probability of this being correct. On either supposition one would expect the subject of such an illness to be liable to breakdowns in health such as we subsequently find: viz. attacks of vomiting and diarrhoea, the attack in March, 1572, when she recounted "the extreme pain which for five days had so shortened her breath and had so clutched her heart that she verily believed she was going to die of it;" and later in Feb. 1586, when "the Queen had been four hours speechless and as if dead, in a swoon, this being an indisposition to which she is occasionally liable."

D. Other items of interest in her medical history are:

- a. Small-Pox. From the evidence it would appear most probable that the first attack in 1562 was a genuine attack of Small-Pox, and that the Queen was permanently "pitted" therefrom, and that the second attack ten years later (1572) was either an abortive attack (on account of the almost complete protection afforded by the first) or more probably Chicken-Pox. (No. 107.)

- b. Teeth : Many references to bad teeth, frequent tooth-ache with abscesses, discoloured teeth (description and portraits), ? pyorrhœa alveolaris.
- c. Amenorrhœa (No. 121, aged 44) ; the Queen's physicians say " she has hardly ever had the purgations proper to all women," and go on to give the ulcer in the leg the credit of performing vicarious menstruation. This taken with No. 130 seems to point to the menopause occurring at about the age of 44-46.
- d. Attacks of Fever ; possibly Rheumatic or Malarial.
- e. Nervous attacks ; Hysteria (No. 113) " Spice or show of Mother."
- f. Gout ? Various references to pain in arm and thumb in late life.

To sum up : Here we have a woman of Syphilitic heredity with a delicate girlhood (15-19 yrs. of age)—a very serious illness from 20-23 with sequelæ lasting for many years more and numerous minor ailments and illnesses—with an indomitable will which enabled her to fulfil her duties and play her part as an autocratic sovereign in a very turbulent period. Whether she should be termed " Neurotic " would need a fuller study of evidence than the extracts before us, which I do not think point particularly in that direction.

J. A. HOWARD.

Dec. 29, 1917.

OPINION OF SIR ARTHUR KEITH

M.D., LL.D., F.R.S., F.R.C.S. ; Conservator of the Museum and Hunterian Professor of the Royal Coll. of Surgeons of England ; Fullerian Professor of Physiology in the Royal Institution of Gt. Britain ; late Presid. Royal Anthropological Inst. ; for thirteen years Lecturer on Anatomy at London Hosp. Specialty : Anatomy and Anthropology. Publications—*Introduction to the Study of Anthropoid Apes* ; *Human Embryology and Morphology* ; Editor *Hughes's Practical Anatomy* ; Asst. Ed. of *Treves's Surgical and Applied Anatomy* ; *Ancient Types of Man* (1911) ; *The Human Body* (1912) ; *Antiquity of Man* (1914).

(Preliminary Opinion)

Royal College of Surgeons of England,
Lincoln's Inn Fields,
London, W.C.2.

22.10.17.

DEAR MR. CHAMBERLIN,—

You have produced a most interesting study for

medical men, viz. the possibility of making a diagnosis of the ailments of Queen Elizabeth from the data and symptoms you have collected and made available for easy study.

The results of my reading of the symptoms are these :

(1) There can be no doubt that Elizabeth was a fully and completely formed woman ; we have mention of her breasts and menstrual periods.

(2) There is no evidence that she inherited the virus of syphilis, nor any that she manifested syphilitic symptoms.

(3) Her chief complaint is best explained by supposing that she suffered from anæmia coming on just after—or, rather, in—the opening years of her sexual life—the swelling of the face and body—the pallor—the giddiness—the swoons, seem all to point to such a diagnosis.

(4) Then follows a period of stomach-liver derangements.

(5) In the same period occurred ulceration of the leg and a vicariousness in the discharge from her ulcer and from her womb.

(6) Later still, there was a period with a septic condition of her mouth—particularly of her teeth. She was apparently a martyr to pyorrhœa. She seems to have died from a septic condition arising from the condition of the mouth.

(7) The pain in her left arm may have been rheumatism. I think all who suffer from pyorrhœa also suffer from chronic rheumatism. But it may also have been angina pectoris—for there are signs which suggest that her arteries may have been diseased. . . .

Yours sincerely,
A. KEITH.

(Formal Opinion)

Royal College of Surgeons of England,
Lincoln's Inn Fields,
London, W.C.2.

PART I.—NOTES ON THE PORTRAITS OF QUEEN
ELIZABETH

Of the six portraits submitted,* the one which seems to

* In order to bring the task within practicable dimensions, I first examined what appeared to be all the *possible* authentic portraits of Elizabeth.

me the truest transcript of a living and real face is that numbered 5—Nicholas Hilliard's portrait. I should suppose the woman portrayed to be sixty years of age or more. There are no wrinkles, to be sure—but the skin is stretched like thin parchment, the face is lean, and the eyelids, although conventional, are less so than in the other portraits. The nose at once arrests attention—a "beaky" nose—somewhat of the parrot-beak type. The mouth is peculiar—the upper lip is drawn in tightly, stretching from angle to angle of the mouth—while the lower lip is full in the middle part, and a little pouting. The forehead is expansive and rounded, with a hairless region reaching high into the crown. The face is short, the chin fairly prominent. The sinking in of the upper lip may be due to an absence of the upper teeth. The eyes are big, widely opened, and give the impression of being of a dark tint. The face as a whole has a vinegarish expression. The eyebrows are peculiarly thin. The lobule of the ear is joined to the cheek—stretching downwards as a drawn-out fold. The face is that of a nervous person, lean, highly-strung, and perhaps petulant.

Turning now to Portrait No. 1—The first question one asks is : Could this, the face of a sedate, modest damsel of seventeen or under—I should be surprised to find her, as represented by the note on the back of the picture, a woman of twenty—could the features here presented become those seen in No. 5 ?

I think they could. She is portrayed as a madonna, with full, rounded, wide forehead, the hair ceasing high up, and exposing an uncommon frontal height. The forehead of No. 1 could easily become the forehead of No. 5. The eyes in No. 1 are full and wide, set in ample sockets ; the eyebrows

With the help of various expert friends, the list was gradually reduced until only the six submitted to Dr. Keith for final decision remained as *probable* portraits. They also represent as many classes or types into which, roughly of course, all reputed portraits may be divided.

One more thing must be said, because of the surrounding circumstances which are peculiarly likely to continue the Amazon theory of Elizabeth—that the reputed funereal effigy in Westminster Abbey (which I myself have heard officially described therein as such) is apocryphal, and a fraud of the most glaring character so long as it be so pictured and money collected for so designating it. Literally millions must have paid sixpences to hear this story, and even the greatest scholars have been befooled by it. One glaring instance recurs to me—that of a very learned historical scholar who had been employed by a prospective publisher, who opined that my views of the true appearance of Elizabeth must be erroneous because they were altogether at variance with this specious effigy at the Abbey.—F. C.



PORTRAIT NO. 1

In the Royal Collection at Windsor Castle

Reproduced by gracious permission of the King

From Messrs. Goupil & Co.'s engraving in Creighton's Queen Elizabeth



PORTRAIT NO. 3

QUEEN ELIZABETH

In the Royal Collection at Windsor Castle

Reproduced by gracious permission of the King

(From Messrs. Goupil & Co.'s engraving in Creighton's Queen Elizabeth)



PORTRAIT NO. 4

In the Royal Collection at Hampton Court

Reproduced by gracious permission of the King

(From Messrs. Goupil & Co.'s engraving in 'reighton's Queen Elizabeth')



PORTRAIT NO. 5

Untouched enlargement from the original miniature by Nicholas Hilliard in the Duke of Buccleuch's Collection in the Victoria and Albert Museum



PORTRAIT NO. 6

Untouched enlargement of an exact photographic copy of the original Nicholas Hilliard miniature bound in Queen Elizabeth's prayer book which was all in her own hand.

Reproduced by kind permission of Miss Whitehead, whose father, the late great collector of miniatures, is the last known owner of the prayer book, which has disappeared since 1892

are present across the whole width of the supra-orbital region. The eyes of No. 1 could become those of No. 5. The nose, however, of No. 1 seems at first sight to differ materially from that of No. 5. The damsel is represented in No. 1 with a particularly long nose. We have to judge its exact shape in an almost full-faced portrait; whereas in No. 5 we have the nose partially in profile. The nose certainly does change in the 3rd, 4th, and 5th decades of life—particularly in women after the menopause. There is a suspicion of the hook in the damsel's nose; I would not deny that a nose portrayed as in No. 1 at seventeen may not become the nose in No. 5 at sixty. The lips and mouth of No. 1 could become the lips and mouth of No. 5. The long oval face of the girl may become shortened by the loss of teeth. The fat which smooths and fills the cheeks of youth does disappear; and we may get the shortened, sunken jowls of the older woman represented in No. 5. She is portrayed as a girl with particularly long, delicate, nervous fingers. In both portraits we have an abundant representation of finery. The girl portrayed in No. 1 is not an uncommon English type. With a bodice such as the artist has depicted, the organs of the body must have worked under great stress and difficulty.

In Portrait No. 6—an enlargement of another of Hilliard's miniatures—we have the same ample forehead. The eyes are worked in quite differently, but, I dare to think, more truthfully, than in the two portraits just discussed. We have here, I should guess, a portrait of an intermediate stage in life—a woman near her thirtieth year. We notice a trace of the same ear-cheek fold as in No. 5. The nose, too, in its shape seems to represent an inter-stage between Nos. 1 and 5. The mouth is narrow and pouting. The change is in the upper lip, which is shapeless and swollen. The chin, however, is the chin of No. 5. I have no difficulty in believing this to be a portrait of the same person as Nos. 1 and 5. The upper eyelids are puffy. There is the same rich array of finery as in the other two portraits.

In Portrait No. 4—an allegorical picture of Elizabeth's youth—we have one which is difficult to harmonize with the three discussed above. It is true we have the same wide, full forehead, retreating amongst the hair on the crown. The eyes are round and otherwise different, the cheeks are particularly high and prominent, the nose is almost straight—certainly not aquiline. The upper lip is long, the chin narrow and prominent. I cannot believe this to be a portrait of the same

person as painted in Nos. 1, 5, and 6.* The woman portrayed seems to me to be about thirty-five or forty years of age.

No. 3—We have here a woman whom I deem to be some sixty years of age, with a long face—a long oval face. One notes at once the remarkable lower jaw—its depth at the chin, and the long gradual sweep of its lower border from the ear downwards and forwards. There is the usual expansive forehead, and the nose is long and aquiline, with a well-modelled Dantesque tip. It may be intended for Queen Elizabeth—but it is not a portrait drawn from the person represented in No. 5.

Then we come to the highly-finished and apparently truthful portrait represented in No. 2. One has only to look at the ear to see how carefully and accurately this artist worked; that ear was copied from a real ear, whether it was Elizabeth's or not. We have the usual forehead represented, but even more expansively than in the others. The modelling of the eyebrows, eye-sockets, and eyelids is very careful and yet conventional. We have the same full and really beautiful eyes. The nose is long and almost straight—just a suspicion of aquiline. Here, as in No. 3, the lower jaw is represented as sweeping in a gentle curve from ear to chin; the lower part of the face is long and tapers to a point at the chin—very unlike the face represented in No. 5. Look at the modelling of the mouth—particularly of the upper lip! The sharply marked lines of youth are preserved: that is very apparent in the upper lip. Yet this beautiful woman in No. 2 is no longer young; she is a woman of at least forty-five. Were I shown the portrait of the girl represented in No. 1 and asked if she might grow into a woman having the severe, clearly-cut features of No. 2, I should say "Yes, certainly." But if I am told that the lady represented in No. 5 is certainly the authentic Elizabeth, then I see no possibility of No. 2 becoming No. 5, and therefore dismiss No. 2 as an idealistic, not a real sketch, of the great Elizabeth.

It is not easy to set out the six portraits in the order of the sitter's age with any degree of certainty. No. 1 is the youngest—seventeen at the utmost. I think No. 6 should come next, then No. 4, then No. 2, then No. 3, and, finally, No. 5. When I search for any appearance which may indicate bodily ailment,

* Prof. Keith is correct. Although ascribed to Elizabeth by Creighton and others, it is now known that the portrait is of Arabella Stuart, and it is so labelled at Hampton Court. Creighton devotes a very sentimental page to it, unfortunately.



THE ONLY AUTHENTIC PORTRAITS OF QUEEN ELIZABETH

or temperament, or quality of mind, I must own I cannot find any certain basis on which a profitable opinion can be founded. The guesses I am prepared to make have been set down in the descriptions given of the individual portraits.

PART II.—NOTES ON THE HEALTH OF QUEEN ELIZABETH

Having thus attempted to obtain the personal appearance of Queen Elizabeth from a study of her portraits, I turn to the written testimony of her contemporaries, in the hope that I may be able to obtain a more substantial picture of the central figure of one of the greatest periods in England's history. In Mr. Chamberlin's records I find only one mention of her height—that of Hentzner, made when the Queen was in her sixty-fifth year—and then, according to report, somewhat bent. "Crooked as her carcase" is an expression attributed to Essex. Hentzner's description is: "Her stature neither tall nor low." She was an average height for Englishwomen; so her height may be placed at 5 ft. 3 in. or at 5 ft. 4 in. (about 1.6 m.). Every record indicates a thin woman—often emaciated. As already mentioned, she became somewhat bent in her 7th decade. But from her portrait as a young girl, one judges that she had rather a slender, upright figure; and I presume she was a lightly, not heavily, built woman. But of that character there is no mention in the records set before me. Hentzner says her face "was oblong." The French Ambassador, writing at the same period—when Elizabeth was in her 65th year, says: "her countenance is long and thin in comparison with what it was formerly, according to what they say." We have thus contemporary testimony of two witnesses that she had a long face, which is not the impression conveyed by Hilliard's Portrait (No. 5); and yet in the two other portraits, Nos. 2 and 3, which I have hesitated to accept as authentic likenesses, a long, narrow face appears. As a maiden she is also depicted as of the long-faced type. Hentzner says her nose was "a little hooked." Hilliard's No. 5 shows a pronounced hook, but none of the other portraits bring out this feature. "Hooked" noses are rarely seen on long faces. Her complexion, one has to infer, for there is no direct record, was that of a dark brunette with a pale white skin which was destitute of any ruddiness—even in the face. Hentzner also mentions that her eyes (irides) were black; as to her hair, there is no mention at the close of her first dropsical illness;

about the end of her third decade, after her second dropsical illness, she would appear to have become bald; the wig she adopted was red, and it is possible that her natural hair was also red—for a pale white skin and almost black eyes do often accompany a certain tint of red hair.* Hentzner says her eyes were small and pleasant; but in all her portraits her eyes are depicted as large rather than small. Her lips were “narrow,” says Hentzner, viz. a thin-lipped woman—that description also tallies with Hilliard’s No. 5. We have already noted her long, delicate, nervous fingers in her youthful portrait; Hentzner also observed that feature. It is strange that there should be such a dearth of personal details of Queen Elizabeth; she must have been the most discussed personality in England during the forty-five years of her reign.

ELIZABETH’S MEDICAL HISTORY

I will preface what I am going to say regarding Elizabeth’s medical history by insisting on the difficulty which confronts a medical man when he seeks to make a diagnosis of her various illnesses. It is an axiom in medical practice never to hazard a diagnosis, nor enter upon a course of treatment, unless a personal examination of the patient has been made. In certain diseases the symptoms may be so characteristic, and their manifestation so accurately described, that the physician has no difficulty in making a satisfactory diagnosis. There are, however, a great number of illnesses that may baffle the most acute physician, even if notes of the case have been made by a trained colleague. There are conditions of illness, the exact nature of which, in the present state of our knowledge, cannot be diagnosed, even if the physician has an opportunity of personally examining the patient, and of applying the whole armamentarium of diagnostic methods at the disposal of the modern physician. In the case of Queen Elizabeth, the modern physician is separated from his patient by more than three centuries; he has to attempt a diagnosis on historical data, not set down by expert observers, but by men and women who, in our sense, were not acquainted with the elements of medicine. There is not a single record in Mr. Chamberlin’s list which was set down by a physician while in attendance on her Majesty. The politicians were interested in her illnesses,

* “Elizabeth had hair reder than yellow, curlit apparently of nature.”—Melville, *Memoirs*, p. 122, in October, 1564.

not from a medical point of view, but in so far as her death affected the outlook of their colleagues or masters. On such a basis it is impossible for even the most skilled physician to reach incontrovertible conclusions as to her health, illnesses, and bodily condition. But, seeing she was the central figure of that great company which gave England a predominant place in the affairs of the world, it is well worth while to examine the data brought together by Mr. Chamberlin and see if additional light can be thrown on the life and behaviour of the great Queen.

The writer's training is not that of a practical physician, and therefore he has no qualification to pass an opinion on the nature of Queen Elizabeth's illnesses. Nor is there any need for him to touch on such matters, for Mr. Chamberlin has obtained the opinions of four eminent men who have at their disposal the best knowledge and experience of our time. But there are certain general problems relating to her health which we may be permitted to review very briefly. So, taking up Mr. Chamberlin's questions in the order he has placed them before us—

“ Was Elizabeth of exceptionally strong physique ? ”

She was a slender woman of medium height, and not strong in a muscular sense, nor in the sense that she had abundance of bodily vigour and animal spirits ; but in the sense of strength of will, in determination to compel her body to obey her will, and to compel men and things to submit to her dictation, she was a woman of great tenacity and strength.

“ Was her health good ? ”

On an adjoining sheet I have marked out her ten septennary periods—Septems they are called there, setting down year by year, by a species of shading, her various periods of ailment. The first and second Septems are clean ; we have no records of childish ailings. But with the third Septem, from puberty onwards, begins a continuous record of ill-health. The nature of that illness has been discussed already by physicians. We simply note that there is a continuous record of complainings all through the 3rd Septem and through the 4th, except just prior to her coronation, and for a year or so after that event. In the 6th, 7th, and 8th Septems there is hardly a clear year, except a brief series at the end of the 6th and commencement of the 7th. Of the 9th Septem there is no record, but the 10th is marked by a continuous succession of complaints. With such a record no one could say Queen Elizabeth enjoyed good health. She was really ill, or, what is quite as hard to bear,

imagined she was ill for a large number of days in every year. If we take the records for the year 1571, when she was in the 38th year, we note she defers an audience on account of her health in July, and then about a month later again makes her health an excuse for putting off another interview. I have a suspicion that a minute examination will show that her times of illness are closely connected with her menstrual life. Mary Queen of Scots evidently thought so ; Elizabeth's illness began with puberty ; there are records which leave us in no doubt that her uterine functions were irregular ; there were times when her menstrual discharge dried up ; there are those records of discharge from an ulcer of her leg, which was most abundant when the monthly discharge from the womb was dried up. Her 8th Septem, the period of her climacteric, is marked by headaches, swoons, ebullitions of temper, melancholy and gastric crises. Like so many women of a nervous temperament and commanding brain, she was crippled at the acute phase of each menstrual period. She had undoubtedly other ailments than those which spring from a derangement of uterine function, but the womb, I think, was the chief source of her continued suffering and ill-health.

I may here interpolate the observation that continued ill-health is not incompatible with a sound judgment and the highest manifestations of the powers of the mind. We should never guess from Darwin's writings that he was continuously ailing ; he might be described, on his own showing, and from the records of those who were closely associated with him, as a confirmed invalid. Yet he accomplished more than any other man of his time. So far as I know, although he had the benefit of the best medical talent of his period, the exact nature of his illness was never definitely determined. Huxley had long spells of ill-health. I have no doubt that an intimate study of the lives of our more celebrated modern women—George Elliot, Charlotte Brontë, Mrs. Browning, etc.—would reveal a continuous series of bodily and mental disturbances, not unlike those to which Queen Elizabeth was subject. Thus when it is admitted that Queen Elizabeth did not enjoy good health, we must add that it was of that kind which did not preclude an active and full use of her brain. Nay—much of it may have resulted from an over-use of her brain.

Questions 3 and 4 refer to the period for which there is no record ; it is unlikely that her health in her 9th Septem differed from the tenour it held in the preceding and succeeding Septem.

Question 5 refers to her constitution. Now there is no more indefinite word than this in our medical vocabulary. By constitution we mean, I think, the multitude of qualities with which a living body is endowed. It includes susceptibility to disease—to disease of various kinds—it includes qualities of the nervous system, the make and build of the skeleton and muscles, the power of the stomach, heart, and lungs to react to the burdens which we place on them. Clearly we have not the data to assess the nature of Queen Elizabeth's constitution—except by noting the reaction of her brain and body to the changing conditions in which they were placed. But if we may use expressions as they are habitually employed in ordinary speech, we should certainly say she was of a nervous constitution. Her immunity was not good; she had small-pox, chicken-pox, and the disease of which she died was a septic or infectious disease of the throat. She suffered from gumboils, and had that septic condition of the teeth which is described as pyorrhœa. Twice she had apparently disease of the kidneys; she was jaundiced at different times. Her uterine functions were disordered—of her appetite and feeding we know little. She was apparently irregular in her times of feeding—sitting down to a meal only when hungry, and drinking only when thirsty. She evidently rested or slept late in the afternoon. She had bouts of sleeplessness. But she lived almost to complete her 70th year. Like the curate's egg, her constitution was good in parts. It was not a strong constitution in the ordinary sense of the word; it was often disordered, but although it kept the lamp of her brain well alight, would it be too much to say she was an invalid from her 15th year onwards? If we use the term "invalid" in its usual sense, as indicating a person confined to room or bed on account of chronic ill-health, then it would be too much. She was not a confirmed, but a recurrent or intermittent invalid; she practically never had the satisfied and comfortable sense that vegetative, healthy people enjoy.

As to her inheriting syphilis; there is no congenital sign of that inheritance in her facial features; nor is there any fact that indicates any syphilitic taint in her childhood. Three of her particular complaints have to be considered in this connection. There is the loss of her hair and also, I think, of her eyebrows about the end of her 3rd decade—when, for the second time, she had suffered from swelling and dropsy, which the best advice bids us assign to disease of the kidney. She was deeply jaundiced in the second phase of that illness.

We know that women at or after the age of 30 may suddenly become bald as Elizabeth did. It is sometimes associated with childbirth. Its direct cause we do not know, but the accompanying letter from my friend Dr. J. H. Sequeira, a leading authority on diseases of the skin, will put at your disposal the best knowledge we have of the subject. Men, too, may lose their hair in their 3rd decade. Always the loss of the hair is accompanied by a peculiar change in the colour and texture of the skin. Now that portrait (No. 5) of Hilliard's does give Elizabeth a tightly stretched, parchment-like skin; the French Ambassador noted that the skin of her face—but she was in her 65th year at the time—was very wrinkled. We may state with a degree of confidence that Elizabeth was the unhappy subject of this unfortunate condition that occasionally overtakes both young women and men—a condition which does react on their mentality. We have no reason to suppose it as due to syphilis. Syphilis may cause the hair to fall out—but the condition is different to the one described. The second condition which must be discussed in connection with syphilis is the ulcer which she had on her leg, just above the ankle—which apparently remained unhealed for about 8 years, from her 37th to 45th year. She had been the subject of an extreme dropsical condition in which her legs and feet became greatly swollen. That condition would predispose to ulceration of the leg, independently of any syphilitic taint. The third condition is the "issue" of her shoulder which kept her from hunting. The word "issue" is used here, I think, in its medical sense. She was often bilious—suffered as people of her complexion and constitution often do—from derangements of the liver, which, as we know, are often attended by a pain in the shoulder. The treatment was to insert a seton and bring about an "issue" in the shoulder, and permit the evil humour to escape. Elizabeth was unable to go hunting because—as I suppose—she had an issue just established in her shoulder.

I am not going to enter into Question 8—a diagnosis of the Queen's various illnesses; her symptoms have been analysed by more practised minds than mine. But as to Question 9—the effect of the Queen's bodily condition on her actions and deportment, I should like to set down one or two notes. Elizabeth had inherited a very active brain; the progress of her scholarship, her penmanship and needlework, in quite early life, shows that it was a brain of exceptional power. From her 15th year until her 26th it was the acuteness of her brain which kept her head on her body. Was ever any

other girl's life spent in such a school for playing for safety?—of playing one party off against another? Then when she got a crown she had to keep that poised on her head by balancing one power against another—protestant and catholic; aristocrat and plebeian; kings of Spain and France, not to speak of Ireland, Scotland, the Low Countries, and one politician against another. The very conditions of her body which gave her a feeling of ill-being actually assisted her brain to play its imperial game. A healthy sexual life, a womb and ovaries in perfect health, a body that glows in full perfection of womanly beauty are handicaps to a woman who has to steer a course amidst the shoals and narrows of the Sea of State; with such a full endowment she cannot but be the slave of the qualities with which nature has so richly dowered her. Elizabeth had the advantage of her defects as a stateswoman; she paid the penalty for her defects in a feeling of ill-being and often positive ill-health. In a medical sense her sexual system was blasted; she had neither the instinct of sweetheart nor mother—for these instincts are impossible in such a frame as hers. How she treated women I do not know; but I should suspect she could not stand to see near her those whom nature had fitted out with her finest paraphernalia, while she had lost her hair and her good looks. We know more about her treatment of men: she liked them young, she liked them handsome—but only in so far as they served her purpose. I think her selfishness—for her crown and her kingdom as much as for herself—must be sought in her really sexless condition. Even the sexless individual has an attenuated faculty of playing on the surface of love—of sniffing the fruit which they have not the capacity of tasting. Elizabeth toyed with her young men, but one cannot conceive more than that. Her condition freed her from the bonds which bind most women; but in exchange she had to bear other bonds—the misery of disturbed health and ill-being. If a study of Elizabeth's health and illnesses can throw a light on her character and through her on the history of her period, it will be found not in a study of her dropsies, fevers, small-pox, spice of mother, etc., but in the disordered condition of her sexual system.

Royal College of Surgeons of England,
Lincoln's Inn Fields,
London, W.C.2.

24th day of June, 1918.

MY DEAR CHAMBERLIN,—

. . . You may take it that Elizabeth's loss of hair

was subsequent to an infection—the one which gave her dropsy, jaundice, etc. She must have had scarlet fever—or some such illness—falling on her kidneys. But *when* I don't know. I still think all that post-puberty bout was directly connected with the assumption of uterine function. . . .

Yours sincerely,

A. KEITH.

CHAPTER VI

LAST WORDS ON QUEEN'S HEALTH

SUCH was the health of the Princess and of the Queen Elizabeth, and it will not have to be urged that as a consequence of this discovery all present opinions upon her character, accomplishments, and career must be revised and rewritten.

The reader can but wonder how such a disastrous history could so long have remained unknown. The detailed explanation, although absorbing and almost romantic, is largely technical, and, as it has little concern with the thread of our argument, is inserted hereafter as note 4 in the Appendix; but no matter how much we may elucidate and conjecture, the vitality for more than three centuries of the Amazon-blond-giantess theory of Elizabeth will always remain one of the most curious literary misunderstandings of all historical writings.

There are, however, two outstanding statements in the original documents which undoubtedly have weighed heavily in favour of this Amazon theory—namely, that she hunted and danced almost to the end of her life.

Even on the occasion of her last remove but one from London, only eight months before her death, she rode on horseback all the way to Hampton Court—ten miles—and “also hunted.”

As late as April 28, 1602, eleven months prior to her death, she opened a ball with the French royal duke of Nevers, dancing a galliard “with a disposition admirable for her age,” as the French Ambassador puts it.* Two months later, that is about July 1, 1602, she arranges to send the pleasing news in great detail to her wearily waiting successor, James, in Edinburgh, that she is a long way from being dead. Her

* P. R. O., *Baschet MSS.*, Bundle 33, purp. p. 260.

method was to have the Scottish Ambassador, when he called to see her on appointment, led into a room adjoining her own, and seated where, by peering around a drapery carefully turned back for the purpose, he could see Elizabeth dancing to a lively tune from a small fiddle ; and of course she was much abashed, surprised, and ashamed when she caught him enjoying her indiscretion ! The only remarkable thing about this story is that it does not relate to the day of her death—for it would have been exactly like her to have played this prank when at her last gasp !

She came as near to this as she dared, *for this was the last time she ever danced !* * It was the final effort, the last fling in the face of the craven Stuart, whose one aim and ambition for many years had been her death. It was the last gesture of challenge to Death itself. She looked the Dread Monster in the face ; and with a toss of the head, a smile, and a jest, she *danced the last dance of her long life in defiance of the one force which could beat down that "unconquerable soul" which was her predominant characteristic.* It was no mere coincidence that she never danced again. She had her eye on posterity.

It was English. It was a sublime manifestation of that jaunty, fearless, or apparently fearless spirit, which Englishmen love to think of as theirs alone.

In this dance with Death, typical of the nation, we have the quintessence of the soul and heart of the Great Queen. Were a psychologist to be found who knew nothing of this woman except the sole circumstance of this dance, her age and her health, and all the efforts James had made to oust her from the

* Miss Strickland, to be sure, ascribes the last dances to the following September, a fortnight after the Queen had begun her seventieth year, giving as authority the letter of the Earl of Worcester to the Earl of Shrewsbury under date of Sept. 19, 1602. But an examination of the letter does not support Miss Strickland's conclusion. The passage in question reads : 'We are frolic here at Court : much danceing, in the privy-chamber, of Country-dances before the queen's majesty, who is exceedingly pleased therewith. Irish tunes are at this time most liked, but in winter, Lullaby, an old song of Mr. Bird's, will be more in request, as I think.'—Lodge's *Illust.* iii. p. 147. This is the flimsiest, yet the only, foundation for Miss Strickland's observation—"This was the opinion of the earl of Worcester . . . who thought that a refreshing nap, lulled by the soft sounds of Bird's exquisite melody, would better suit his royal mistress than her usual after-dinner diversions of frisking, beneath the burthen of seventy years, to some of the spirit-stirring Irish tunes newly imported to the English court." Not only does the letter not say that the Queen danced, but it explicitly states that the dancing was "before the queen's majesty."

throne so that he might occupy it, he could hardly fail to reconstruct Elizabeth so far as her predominant qualities were concerned ; and the result would be a thorough woman. Yet we have always been told, and have believed, that Elizabeth was more man than woman, entirely lacking in feminine characteristics !

A more typical woman than Elizabeth never lived. She was, moreover, a woman confronted with the greatest tasks that have ever confronted a monarch ; and when we reflect that she was overwhelmingly successful, and usually by methods strictly feminine, it is probably true that only a woman could have triumphed upon so desperate a field.

Elizabeth's dancing and hunting seem, at first sight, very strong, almost conclusive, evidence of an exceptional physique. But the slightest examination of the facts quickly leads to a modification of that view.

The spectacle that at once comes to the mind of the average person when he reads of a hunt by Elizabeth is that of a pack, madly dashing across country after a wild buck, followed by a bevy of scarlet-coated gentlemen and ladies, led by the Great Queen herself, at sixty-nine. That is what a hunt in England to-day means.

The term in the time of Elizabeth signified the driving of tame deer running in the park of some private estate into a net, and then driving them out of it one by one through a narrow opening, beside which the hunters stood, and shot them with crossbows as they emerged. The only common variation of this procedure was the spectacle of the doomed beasts, worn down and mauled to death by the deerhounds which sprang at them as they were let out of the opening. If the game did not at once succumb, it could continue the struggle within a larger enclosure, so arranged that the quarry was never beyond sight of the beautifully-gowned spectators, who, seated in a bower of leafy branches, hoped that the dogs would drive the panting deer near them, so that they might bring him down themselves with their crossbows.* In all

* Among the many authorities establishing the view just given of Elizabeth's hunting, we cite these as typical :

" . . . as I was already near the said Vuyneck (Probably Woodstock near Oxford.—F. C.) she (Elizabeth) sent three gentlemen to conduct me ; not to the house where she was stopping, but to an arbour which had been prepared

the life of Elizabeth, we can discover but one account of any possible variation from this fashion of hunting.

for her where she could shoot her crossbow at does imprisoned in toils ; to this place she came soon after, grandly accompanied, where both before and after she had alighted from her coach, she received me vary favourably . . . (They argued about state affairs for a long time, and then the Ambassador continues) The hour having come for the hunt, she took her crossbow and killed six does, of which she did me the honour to give me a large proportion."—Fénélon to the King of France, Sept. 5, 1570.

"In Queen Elizabeth's day, and after, we read little of the great stag being harboured in his forest haunts, but being seen in the park herd, he was singled out by means of hounds, who 'teased him forth,' or even by a sportsman on horseback riding after him, and thus severing him from the herd. Coursing and shooting within parks was the most favoured sport (And of course the shooting was then without the assistance of gunpowder.—F. C.) in this Queen's reign, and wild deer hunting was completely neglected, at least at Court."—*British Hunting*, A. W. Coaten, 1909, Lond., p. 11.

By 1588 "the grand old style of hunting at force had given place to the indolent method of driving the deer to 'stands,' from which the Queen and her courtiers fired as the quarry fled by."—*History of the Royal Buckhounds*, J. P. Hore, p. 73.

The French Duc de Biron visited England with several hundred retainers in 1601. "Queen Elizabeth being then at the Vine in Hampshire, Biron followed her thither and had the pleasure of seeing Her Majesty hunt, attended by more than fifty ladies, all mounted on hackneys." *Idem*. Stowe thus refers to this hunt : "And one day he (the Duke) attended her at Basing Park at hunting . . . and did there see her in such Royalty and so attended by the nobility, so costly furnished and mounted, as the like had seldom been seen." Now of what did the hunting consist ? That is indubitably seen in the returns of the Lord Chamberlain for that time : "To Richard Conningesby for the allowance of himself (and 9 others) for makeinge readie a standinge in the P'ke at Windsor against ye huntinge there, for two daies, mense Augusti 1601, xxxix^s iii^d. . . . For makinge readie the Lord Marques (of Winchester) his house at Basyng by the space of xiiij^{en} dayes mense Septembris 1601, xiiij^{li} xs iiiij^d. For makinge ready the Lord Sandes house at the Vyne for the french Ambassadors by like tyme mense pred', ∞ xiiij^{li} etc. For makinge readie a standinge in Basyng P'ke for two dayes dco mense ∞ xxiv^s."—*Accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber of the Household*, E. L. T. R. Series 1, Box F, Bundle 3, m. 67d. MS. P. R. O.

Invited to a hunt at Windsor (by Leicester at the request of the Queen), the French Ambassador attended and writes this description of what he saw in Windsor Park "where she had great sport hunting . . . and as fro the pleasure of the said hunt, it could not possibly have been greater. For after having seen sixty to eighty great bucks confined in a net passing and repassing incessantly before a little scaffold where the Queen was, and where he saw her kill several of them with the crossbow, those which were only wounded were caught by bloodhounds ; the others were worn out at intervals within a plain of some six or seven miles in the midst of the forest where, on a little hill from which the entire plain could be seen and at the exit from the net, there had been erected a well-screened butt or blind (feuillade) to which the Queen went ; and, at once and for all the remainder of the day up to evening, one, two, three, and at different times several great bucks came out of the net, and passing by the blind, began two or three miles of chase with the best dogs of the nation, of which one, two, or three, brought down a great stag ; at times also after running for two or three miles, one would retrace its track to regain the forest, only to be brought down near the blind ; and as there were some good bucks as well as good dogs, both in great number,

This is in a letter * of 1572, when, at the age of thirty-eight, she "pursued a stag all day and until the middle of the night, but had to rest in her chamber all the next day." There can be little doubt that this means that Elizabeth saw among the tame deer about the estate a particular buck which she determined to kill. Her retainers cut him off from the herd, but he would not permit her to get near enough for a shot from the crossbow which a servant bore. The animal moved about the park, always succeeding in keeping beyond range, until darkness gave him the needed security at "the middle of the night." The latter circumstance shows, of course, that there was no rapid or rough riding, so that this exceptional day only serves to prove the rule.

To recur to the dancing, the final record of her enjoying this exercise *with* anybody is that already cited of the French Ambassador de Beaumont † in a letter to his King under date of April 21, 1602, eleven months before the Queen's death, when, as the report reads: "after dinner she had a ball when she danced with him (the duc de Nevers) la gaillarde with a disposition admirable for her age, not having paid this honour to any foreign prince since the late d'Alençon."

There appears to be no testimony establishing her dancing with any *man* for the twenty years between these two French princes, and but one record of her so honouring any *woman* within that period. This last was in June, 1600, when she attended the wedding of Lord Herbert at Blackfriars. On

the hunt, through the nature of the place and the careful preparations which had been made by the Count of Leicestre, gave great pleasure to his sovereign and to the company at large."—*Marie Stuart et Cath. de Medicis*, Chéreau, p. 327, Sept. 18, 1584, de Castelnau to Henri III.

"Lord Leicestre gave Queen Elizabeth the first watch bracelet in history; I suppose for her hunting days. Once when she and he went to stay at Berkeley Castle, they had a day with the toils (Nets, etc., as described above) in the park in Lord Berkeley's absence, and killed twenty-seven prime stags, again having resort to screens and arblasts (Crossbows)."—*The Queen's Hounds*, Lord Ribblesdale, M.B.H., p. 230.

On Aug. 15, 1591, when Elizabeth was at Cowdray, she killed a number of deer with a crossbow, and shot at a herd of thirty imprisoned in a paddock for her entertainment. Later in the day she saw sixteen of them pulled down by greyhounds on the lawn; quite a full day of hunting.

In March, 1593, Elizabeth was at Theobalds, and Robert Carey in his *Memoirs* (Nichols's *Prog.*, vol. ii. for that year) says: "the Queen went that day to dinner to Enfield House, and had toiles (Nets.—F. C.) set up in the parke to shoot at buckes after dinner . . . I tooke her by the arme, and led her to her standing."

* *Corresp. Dip. de Fénélon*, tom. v. p. 83, Aug. 7, 1572.

† P. R. O., *Baschet MSS.*, Bundle 33, purple p. 260.

the 16th of May Rowland Whyte writes to Sir Robert Sidney :

“ Her Majestie is in very good healthe, and purposes to honor Mrs. Anne Russell's marriage with her presence. . . . There is to be a memorable maske of eight ladies. They have a straunge dawnce newly invented ; their attire is this ; each hath a skirt of cloth of silver, a rich waistcoat wrought with silkes and gold and silver, a mantell of carnacion taffeta cast under the arms, and their haire loose about their shoulders curiously knotted and interlaced.”

On the 14th of June, Whyte writes to describe the dance itself, which has just taken place.

“ These eight (the eight ladies spoken of in the preceding letter above) dawnce to the music Apollo bringes ; and there is a fine speach that makes mention of a ninth, much to her honor and praise. . . . After supper the masks came in, as I writ in my last ; and delicate it was to see eight ladies so pretily and richly attired. . . . Mrs. Felton went to the Queen, and wooed her to dawnce. Her Majesty asked what she was ? ‘ Affection,’ she said. ‘ *Affection*,’ said the Queen, ‘ *is false*.’ Yet her Majestie rose and dawnced : . . .”

A year previous, in September, 1599, the Scottish Ambassador, Semple of Beltreis, reported * to James that some other person (whose name cannot be deciphered in the MS.) saw “ the queen through a window . . . dance the *Spanish Panic* to a whistle and tamboureur, none being with her but my lady Warwick.”

Between November, 1598 and February, 1599, M. de Maisse, the French Ambassador, writes † that Elizabeth took him to see one of her balls. She put him beside her and “ took great pleasure in the ball and music . . . (and said) that in her youth she danced very well . . . when her girls are dancing she follows the time with her head, hand, and foot. She reproves them if they do not dance to her pleasure, and without doubt she is a past-mistress (in the art). She says that she used to dance very well when young ; after the Italian manner of dancing high ; . . .”

* Strickland, 1851 ed. p. 710.

† *Journal* of M. de Maisse, Baschet MSS., P. R. O., Bundle 30, p. 235.

Here, we feel, must be the truth. It is the familiar picture of the old lady we have all seen so many, many times at balls, unable to take part in the dancing, but nodding her head, waving her hand, and tapping her foot to the time, while she criticizes the decadence of the new generation's enjoyments in comparison with those of her own, and dilates on the good old days.

That was at the opening of 1599. Between that date and 1589—ten years—we find no record of the Queen's dancing in any style ; but on the 22nd of December in that year (1589) one of the gentlemen of the Court writes : " The Q. is so well as I assure you VI or VII gallyards in a mornynge, besides musycke & syngynge, is her ordinary exercyse." * Elizabeth was then fifty-six years of age.

Looking back over her life before and after this period, we gather that the Queen danced when she felt able to do so, just as she walked or rode on horseback, no matter what the weather might be—probably for the same reason as that which induced her to refuse the prescriptions of the doctors then inflicted upon her—namely, for the sake of health. But once her youth was passed, as she told de Maisse, she did not pretend to dance well, or in any violent fashion. It is to the gaillarde † that she has recourse, with its many curtesies, its stately, moderate step and mien, the forerunner of the minuet of the succeeding century—or to the ceremonial dance of Lord Herbert's wedding already described, where Apollo brings in the music, each lady moves with a cloak on her arm and her hair down her back, and there is a " fine speech ;"—evidently very like the minuet, but even more elaborate, a vehicle for manners.

If other evidence be desired of the degree of physical strength required by these dances of Elizabeth in her old age—upon only four occasions in the last twelve years of her life—attention may be directed to the *costume* with which the Queen was afflicted. It is substantially described in the following extract from the leading authority on ancient dancing. He is speaking of that in the Elizabethan period :

* Sir John Stanhope to Lord Talbot from Richmond, 22 Dec., 1589, Lodge, *Illust.*, vol. ii. p. 386.

† " One of the precursors of the minuet."—*Cent. Dict.*

“Majestic measures were adapted to the requirements of the performers, decked in all the dignity of brave apparel; high head-dresses with towers of hair; coifs overloaded with jewels, with osprey, and other plumes, to which brisk movements would have brought destruction; rigid and elongated stomachers; starched ruffs of several stories; buckramed sleeves and skirts; hoops both high and inflexible; extravagant trains and stiff shoes, also stiffer with jewels, and with very high heels, all adornments necessitating dance-measures suitable to the constrained and stately deportment of the wearers; hence the favour in which was held the ‘grave Pavane,’ admirably designed to harmonize with stately surroundings, evidently the precursor of the equally courtly minuet.”*

Clearly, then, Elizabeth’s efforts to dance at sixty-eight implied no physical exertion or strength inconsistent with what we now know of her general health. If she were able to walk at all, she could have stepped the dances then in vogue at her Court—just as she could have attended her so-called hunts.

With one further observation, we may close this subject. It has been, and would be now, impossible for any biographer of Elizabeth to appreciate the *significance* of the various items in our Medical Record, as he reads them in the detached and casual fashion in which they appear in the bibliography. It is the *conjunction* of them that carries conviction and significance; and that conjunction with the necessary verifications, and the necessary arrangement of details in chronological order, is a task that demands many months of ceaseless labour.

It took twelve months more to secure the Opinions of the experts. Five years in all were consumed by the researches into this one feature of Elizabeth’s life, and its statement; and—a more suggestive fact to the working historian—when we planned our biography of the Queen, in successive volumes, we had not the slightest suspicion that this matter of Elizabeth’s health would require any more time than that consumed in stating that she had “immense physical vigour,” a “magnificent constitution . . . a frame which seemed incapable of fatigue” . . . and that “it is not till February, 1602, that we first hear of her health beginning to fail.”

* Gaston Vuiller, *History of Dancing*, vol. ii. p. 384, Jap. vell. ed.

CHAPTER VII

THE SEYMOUR AFFAIR TO THE THRONE

AT the end of Chapter I., we stated that the severest trials of Elizabeth's whole life, its most dangerous situations and most delicate decisions, came upon her in the nine years between the close of the Seymour Affair in 1549 and her accession in November, 1558, that is between her fifteenth and twenty-fifth years, and that for the most part of this period she was the very hub of the political system, with the result that when she mounted the throne she was already a most skilful, well-trained, and experienced politician, who knew life, and men, and women as they really are.

This we propose to demonstrate in a rapid survey of these nine years, and then, with a complete understanding of the woman Elizabeth, we can proceed directly to an examination of the charges of immorality which her contemporaries have left to us.

As already said, the Seymours—the Admiral and his brother, usually known as the Protector, Somerset—had secured possession of their nephew, the little ten-year-old King, Edward VI. The Protector had brought his brother to the block, only to find himself confronted by another rival in the person of the head of the Dudley family, the Duke of Northumberland, who had been but lately the Earl of Warwick, and was the father of Leicester. The contest was so fierce between them that Somerset was a fugitive within six months of his brother's death, and no long time elapsed before he lost his head on that very block to which he had sent the admiral; and the Dudleys were in the ascendant, with the boy-king in their hands.

Northumberland's scheme had two main branches:

Firstly, to induce Edward to deprive his sisters, Mary and

Elizabeth, of the succession ; and, secondly, to induce Edward to will that great prize to Northumberland's daughter-in-law, Lady Jane Grey, daughter of Henry VIII.'s niece,* whom Somerset had tried to gain for his own son ; and whose person Admiral Seymour had had charge of by arrangement with her ambitious parents. In this struggle for Lady Jane, Northumberland triumphed two months before Edward died, and, since Elizabeth and Mary were prevented from seeing Edward, whose mind was sedulously poisoned against them, the boy acquiesced in Northumberland's plans, and signed every paper that was presented to him. When the King breathed his last the ducal conspirator had in his possession all documents necessary for putting his whole plan into operation. This was in July, 1553.

Against this intrigue Elizabeth and Mary were helpless. The former was at Hatfield, as she had been, except for short intervals of visit to other palaces in the vicinity, ever since the Seymour Affair. In deference to the Protestant fashion, she dressed with absolute simplicity, and soon became the hope and symbol of all the hopes of that party, for in her alone could they expect a safe future. The accession of Mary, the confirmed Catholic, meant their ruin, if not persecution and death. Elizabeth's accession meant the same to the Catholics ; and the entire nation, split in twain by the deadly hatred and fear between what in those days they termed true religion and heresy, hovered anxiously over the bed of little Edward, and forced Catholic Mary and Protestant Elizabeth, in spite of themselves, into mutual enmity and rivalry.

Northumberland had seduced all the great families ; he had the army (such as it was), the navy, the money—all the trump cards, as he thought, except two—the persons of the two princesses ; and hardly had Edward ceased to breathe when letters in his name, and ordered by the King's Council, were forwarded to them bidding them hasten to his bedside.

The future of England depended upon the fate of those

* Lady Jane Grey's grandmother was that Mary, second sister of Henry VIII., who had played such pranks as Queen of France with her old spouse Louis XII. until his death restored her to her real lover, Charles Brandon, whom she married, to whom she came with her hair still down. At any rate it was so said, and all the world hopes that it is true. This story was the foundation of one of the most successful historical romances, *When Knighthood was in Flower*, by Charles Major, the American writer.

false messages. With the bodies of Mary and Elizabeth in his hands, and the girl Jane Grey married to his son, Northumberland was master of England's destiny. The Dudleys would be the real kings of England. It was a tremendous game, with the lives of every participant for the stakes. The future history of the world lay in the hands of those two swift groups of horsemen who rode through the English countryside with the spurious summons from the dead brother, for Elizabeth at Hatfield, and Mary at Hunsdon. Mary fell into the trap, and hurried along the road to Greenwich, whither the summons called her, riding straight toward the band of conspirators, headed by Robert Dudley, who had been sent out to apprehend her ; but Elizabeth was more wary, and could not be induced to quit her palace. The conspirators therefore went to Elizabeth in the guise of a Commission, who announced that her brother was no more, and that the Lady Jane Grey was his successor ; while they offered the young Princess, now twenty years of age, a large sum of money if she would acquiesce in the arrangement, and resign all claims to the throne.

She was completely in the dark as to the degree of success at that moment of Northumberland's scheme. She could not know Mary's fate, her plans, or her whereabouts : and Elizabeth wanted to be Queen. Her very life was at stake, as well as all her future. If she made this bargain offered her by these wily statesmen from London, she would be throwing in her lot with Lady Jane and the Dudleys, against her sister Mary ; and what were Mary and her friends doing in the matter ? Were they going to fight, or were they actually fighting at that moment ? Had the contest already been decided ? Perhaps the Dudleys had sent Mary a spurious summons, as they had to her, Elizabeth ; perhaps Mary had been deceived, put her neck into the noose, started for London and been made prisoner.

The decision amounted to this—If she were to join with the Dudleys, and they proved unsuccessful, she would be destroyed by Mary ; If she were to join with Mary, and the Dudleys proved the stronger, she would be destroyed by the Dudleys—and she had no assurance that these Commissioners would give her, should she reject their proposals, any opportunity to join or help Mary. Perhaps, having failed either to

bribe her or get her to Greenwich, they might forcibly remove her to the Tower.

It was a terrible moment for Elizabeth. It would have been a terrible moment for anybody. Yet she met it with a sureness of touch that exhibits her ingenuity and soundness of judgment, for it is impossible to think of any other reply that would have saved her, at the moment and in the future. "Why do you seek to make any agreement with me? My sister is the only one with whom you need any agreement, for as long as she is alive I have no claim or title to the throne to assign." Such was the substance of her answer—and it was final. The Commission could only withdraw, since it is evident that they did not dare to seize the Princess in view of the long journey to London, or for some other equally sound reason. As Protestants, they may have had among their numbers some who would not participate in such an outrage on one who must be the mainstay of all the hopes of their faith if Northumberland's scheme should go awry.

And then, when the Commissioners had departed, Elizabeth became ill * and unable to be moved to London—if such an attempt were made. The good news, however, that Mary not only had escaped from the snare, but that the country had risen, and, with her at their head, was marching on London, and that the conspirators were in despair, brought the delicate girl on to her feet in time to meet Mary when she made her triumphal entry into the capital; and the sisters rode side by side from Aldgate to the Tower, less than a month after Edward had ceased to live.

As soon as it became clear that Mary would be triumphant, Catholics and Protestants manœuvred for *points d'appuis*. The Powers supporting the old religion ranged themselves behind Mary, while endeavouring to checkmate each other in the struggle for predominance in her councils. Every Protestant in England and on the Continent became a staunch and militant supporter of Elizabeth—and the Protestant faith was just beginning to gather into that irresistible wave so soon to sweep all before it. Elizabeth was on the very crest of the oncoming tide. She represented, embodied, personified, the hopes and aspirations of the great majority of the English

* Med. Rec. No. 14a.

people ; and even the Pope himself, commenting upon the reports from his London agent, stated it as a fact that it was Elizabeth who was in the " heart and mouth of every one." * We have no need to seek confirmation of such a remarkable admission from a source so antagonistic.

With the highest ambitions and interests of each sister so radically opposed, it was inevitable that the two should clash—their respective adherents would see to that—and within thirty days of Mary's ascension she had thrown down the gauntlet to her Protestant sister. She ordered the restoration of the mass. Elizabeth took up the challenge by declining to attend such a ceremonial. There would have been an immediate crisis had she not perceived that her position was incompatible with her security, and was a danger to the ultimate success of the Protestant cause—the one thing to be kept in mind. She had been too hasty ; and, after some days, she yielded so far as to attend the state masses, and to admit that perhaps she was too prejudiced against Rome, which could not be held strange considering that she had been brought up a Protestant. She would, therefore, study the matter, and the Queen might appoint an instructor who would assist her in the task.

This voluntary surrender was characteristic of Elizabeth at all stages of her career. She was always prepared to renounce anything, if its loss would strengthen her hold upon some other thing that she valued more ; and it is clear that she often made more friends by her surrenders to public opinion than by her victories over it. The lack of this quality in Mary her predecessor, and in James her own successor, goes far to explain their comparative failure.

To all appearances, then, she withdrew her opposition ; but she continued it secretly, as all her friends and all the Protestants knew well, and so lost the support of none of them. She lost, indeed, nothing at all, if we do not charge her with being chagrined at having to yield where she had proclaimed herself as adamant. But probably chagrin for such reasons was not a heavy cross, especially when we consider that by her action she induced Mary to treat her before all the Court as heir apparent. This attitude was maintained for some three months, when the Queen affronted her by passing through

* *Letters of Pope Julius III.* p. 112 ; September 20th, 1553.

Parliament—for that institution was as yet only an instrument of the throne—a statute re-affirming the validity of the marriage of Mary's father and mother, the necessary corollary to which was that Elizabeth once more was legally within that euphonious term by which the Catholic ambassadors usually designated her when corresponding with their masters—"The young bastard." Elizabeth at once requested to be allowed to retire from the Court. But, as Mary was not prepared to loosen her control over the daily actions of the strong-minded girl, permission was refused ; and the Catholic ambassadors continued to storm Mary's ears with their charge—which was perfectly true—that Elizabeth had only surrendered *in form*, and with their demand that she should be rendered harmless. But they were dealing with a very firm woman in Mary—the type of which martyrs are made—as she had demonstrated not long before, when she replied to her brother's representatives who tried to force her into conformity with the Protestant faith, that she would rather place her head on the block than consent. Such had been her mother, and such her father, although probably obstinacy, and not principle, was the quality that forbade him to give way. Mary as yet refused to imprison Elizabeth. She would await the next step of the younger woman, or of her followers.

Of course the great object that these Catholics had in mind in pressing for Elizabeth's elimination, was the probability of the Queen's death—for probability is the proper word. That event would bring the Protestants once more into supreme power ; and that, with a resourceful, ambitious, and determined character like Elizabeth at the helm, would be a very different situation from that which confronted them with a sickly boy like Edward on the throne. All of this Mary knew and realized—but she would not lift her hand so long as Elizabeth would attend mass and refrain from active opposition to her queen ; or, at any rate, so long as her followers pursued that course.

France was working for the elimination of Elizabeth, and of the Spanish influence in England. The first step was to be the corruption of Elizabeth through offers of assistance to finance and conclude a revolt against Mary ; and if and when Elizabeth fell into the trap, the proffered assistance was to be withdrawn, and everything done to bring about the dupe's

defeat and absolute destruction. Then would come the second step—the definite defeat of Spain in its efforts to become supreme in England. France was to declare Mary Stuart—later Mary Queen of Scots, now about to become Dauphiness of France—the heir apparent of the English throne, as well as of the French, or actually Queen of England, according to circumstances.

That the grandiose scheme involved the probable death of Elizabeth if not that of her sister, of thousands of others during the coming conflict, and that bribery, deceit, and treachery were the necessary implements for its success, were not detriments according to the code in those days of international politics—a fact that should always be borne in mind. Despite all the progress that followed the introduction and spread of the Christian religion, every nation (with the single exception of the Scottish) was still ready to condone any crime that man might commit as the successful pretender to its throne. Massacre, assassination, arson, theft, falsehood, betrayal, bribery, parricide, fratricide, rape, abduction, seduction, treason—all and more had been forgotten and forgiven times beyond number in the wild revelry of success. Might was still right. To win a throne was to succeed. To lose one was to fail. Those words summed up the code. Those words contained every principle of this greatest of all earthly games.

The French monarch made his proposals to Elizabeth, and to her friends. His ambassador was in daily contact with her, as were the representatives of Spain and Austria, with the Venetian emissary watching all from the background. The Queen herself did not occupy the attention of these gentlemen and their respective masters as did the scheming Elizabeth. That Elizabeth actually promoted the rebellion which followed, with her name as its rallying cry, was never proven. Had it been manifest to her contemporaries, there is no doubt but that her head would have paid the penalty; the existence of opportunity for doubt was her salvation. “Not proven” is the most convincing case we have to present.

There can, on the other hand, be little doubt that she was an assenting party. There were certainly no moral principles then existent that would have restrained her from taking the field, if her judgment had told her that by so doing she would

have been victorious. For she knew that the prize was her life or that of Mary. The two could not long exist together. And the compelling and incontrovertible reason, no matter how much the sisters endeavoured to obviate it, was that their followers would not permit any agreement. The leaders themselves might desire it, indeed order it, but there were too many bigots and fanatics, too many fools and lunatics, to admit of any discipline on either side. There was bound to be a terrible explosion sooner or later.

The situation was remarkably like the contest nearly a quarter of a century later between that other Mary and Elizabeth, when events came to such a pass that only one could remain if there was to be any peace in England, or, indeed, upon the Continent. There was really little or no dangerous quarrel between the two Queens—we mean no quarrel that had not been sufficiently composed and controlled, so far as the two principals were concerned. The fatal controversy was in the *situation*. The Catholics in England, France, Italy, Spain, and Austria, for reasons purely selfish, wanted the breach widened, worked for it, bribed for it, fomented rebellion for it. In their view, the way to succeed was to assassinate Elizabeth or drive her from her throne, and replace her with Mary Queen of Scots. The counter-object of the Protestants was to induce Elizabeth to kill Mary—and Elizabeth's consent was only extorted when, as we now see, there was no other possible solution. The last barrier to Elizabeth's assent was broken down when Mary's followers failed to control themselves after Elizabeth had passed the statute declaring that the individual on behalf of whom rebellion were raised should be deemed as guilty as the actual promoters. If the turbulent elements among the Catholics would not keep the peace after that law took effect, then nothing would avail except Mary's execution—and when they formed the Babington conspiracy, they, and not Elizabeth, signed Mary's death warrant.

Elizabeth's conception of her duty as Queen—the only earthly guide and standard she ever acknowledged—was to provide that England should have repose no matter whose head it cost, if there were no other way. The peace that followed Mary's death shows, as no other argument can, that Elizabeth was right, and that she had been right in refusing

her consent until she deemed it necessary, in spite of the ceaseless urgings to the contrary from many of her most powerful advisers for nearly twenty-five years. It was only another demonstration of that almost marvellous faculty possessed by Elizabeth of seeing the best time to do a thing.

Her conduct of the struggle with her sister Mary shows this gift in perfection, when she was only twenty. She would not head a rebellion against Mary. She did not think that the time was ripe. It would be easy enough to head a rebellion ; but that alone was not what Elizabeth desired. It was only a *successful* rebellion that she wanted to lead—which, in her judgment, could not be done—and while she would listen to those who thought otherwise, and would not betray them, that was all she would do. They should not have a line of writing from her as evidence of her co-operation, nor would she see their leaders.

It was never Mary's habit to temporize with anybody, when she was convinced that she was in the right. After gaining her throne by her own efforts, and her correct gauging of public opinion, without even a skirmish, she was not inclined to placate her adversaries, especially those who founded their opposition upon what she deemed to be heresy ; and she took every step to place England once more under the sway of Rome. To the Catholic Emperor, Charles V., then the most powerful monarch on earth, she promised to marry whomever he chose—and he selected his own son, Philip, Prince of Spain, afterward Philip II., a most devout Catholic.

Such a match was a heavy blow to France, and, moreover, for the partisans of Elizabeth, who comprised nearly every Protestant in the realm. Nor was the prospect altogether rosy in the eyes of the rest of the nation. The latter were glad to see the reinstatement of the old faith, for which they had prayed and fought for years. But that was but a relatively insignificant feature of the proposal. The crucial point lay in the fact that this was a match, not only with a foreign prince, but with one who was a mortal enemy of France ; a condition which, in such times, meant that if England's queen were to espouse Philip, England would almost inevitably find herself involved in the contest between Spain and France. That was a condition which many Catholic Englishmen violently opposed,

for in the long and relatively quiet reign of Mary's father they had begun to see the blessedness of peace, a lesson which Englishmen were learning for the first time.

These considerations were undoubtedly laid before Elizabeth, and when we learn how nearly successful the rising was, we wonder that she was able to foresee the outcome, and refuse her overt support. As we now ponder over her problem, we incline to the opinion that the deciding factor in her mind was this—that she would only have to remain quiet, retain her present vantage as acknowledged heir apparent, and the course of nature would place her on the throne, in four or five years at most. She knew her sister's physical ailments. Considering that Elizabeth had been striving for the succession for a decade or more, that she had worked night and day in mental preparation for it, and that she was now only twenty, it was not too much to wait several years more, when the prize would almost certainly be hers automatically; especially as an attempt to shorten that period would involve the risk of all, even life itself. There can be no doubt of the answer Elizabeth would have made to such a problem, at any time during her seventy years. She habitually played the waiting game, the game with the largest stakes, and never permitted her attention to wander from the card that would eventually win them.

So did she play her hand now. But the enthusiasts could not wait. They looked for large reinforcements from the Catholics who objected to being ruled by a foreigner—and go on they would, if not with Elizabeth for an oriflamme, then without her. Abetted by money and promises from the French king, who only planned to destroy them at the right moment, they stepped into the trap which his ambassador had so carefully baited, and both Mary and Elizabeth were in the gravest danger.

It is unnecessary for our purpose to go into all the details. Suffice it to say that neither Mary, nor Gardiner, her Lord Chancellor, the head of the Government, would yield to the demands of the Austrian Ambassador that Elizabeth be sent to the Tower, even although rumours of the great plot involved her to some extent. Nevertheless, Mary's attitude toward her grew colder and more suspicious, until Elizabeth perceived that the entire entourage of the Queen had been rendered

hostile ; and—what is more likely to have convinced Elizabeth that she must at all costs get away into the country while she had the liberty to do so—the girl knew that Sir Thomas Wyatt was ready to launch a full-fledged armed rebellion to place her on her sister's throne. Were she at Court when it broke out, she would certainly be confined on the instant ; and she had no intention of being caught there, so long as she had the means and the strength to travel. Thereupon she renewed her demand to be permitted to leave—at first with no more success than before. This time, however, Elizabeth would not be denied, although she was probably in the first throes of that serious illness of which we shall speak more at length, for hardly was she outside London (which she left on the 6th of December, 1553), than she became so sick that she had to interrupt the journey of some thirty miles to her house at Ashridge, in Buckinghamshire, and send back to the Queen for the latter's horse-litter to overtake and convey her the remainder of the distance.* She was not, however, too ill to scheme, for no sooner was she in her own house than she despatched a messenger to Mary requesting her to forward all the ornaments and paraphernalia required to enable the Princess to set up in her house a complete chapel for the celebration of masses !

It would appear that the mental stress and positive dangers of the last weeks at Court had once more broken Elizabeth's health,† if indeed she possessed any after the long illness

* Med. Rec. No. 14aa.

† For more details of the intrigues surrounding Elizabeth in these last weeks at Court, the following excerpts may be consulted—"Madame Elizabeth has left for St. Albans. . . . She took a friendly leave of the Queen, and the Queen, too, on her side has dissembled very well. . . . On the day of her departure I visited the Queen, and made use of my interview to bring to her knowledge much concerning the French plots (To put Elizabeth on the throne, as we have lately detailed,—F. C.), which she was very glad to know. Instructions have been given that the Princess's movements are to be closely watched, as much suspicion has been aroused by the French ambassador, having set posts on the Scottish road, intending by this means to aid and abet the Lady Elizabeth in her schemes. Two days before she went away the Lords Arundel and Paget spoke very frankly to her, and warned her that if she refused to follow the path of duty, and persisted in concerning herself with French and heretical conspiracies, she would bitterly repent it. . . . When she was leaving she entreated the Lady Queen not to put faith in bad reports of her without hearing her defence . . . for these stories were merely lies on the part of those who desired her ruin. . . . All which has confirmed the Queen in her opinion that Madame Elizabeth might become a great danger, unless some remedy can be found."—Renard to Charles V., Dec. 8, 1553.

"I must not forget to tell you that at least four days ago I was warned

we have already considered so carefully—which we know to have been still going on in the last week of September, 1552. Any real convalescence is very doubtful, considering what must have been her very anæmic condition thereafter, her relapse in the following July when Edward died, and this new outbreak which, five months later, strikes her helpless on the road to Ashridge.

But if this theory be incorrect—and it is admittedly uncertain—then it is quite clear that this last attack was the beginning of that second illness, intermittent if not continuous, which lasted for several years. It was only six or seven weeks after its commencement that we learn that she had been ill for some time, that she was swollen from head to foot, face and all, beyond recognition, and was expected to die at any moment. These conditions were followed rapidly by other similar attacks, and by the great weakness, jaundice, shortness of breath, bad colour, etc., etc., which endured continuously for more than three years * according to positive affirmative evidence, and probably for far longer—some of these symptoms, indeed, never leaving their victim except at her death.

With her health in the condition stated, Wyatt began his rebellion on the 25th of January, 1554, a little earlier than he had intended, his hand being forced by traitors. A letter from

that this ambassador (Renard.—F. C.) . . . made a complaint to this Queen . . . that he knew most certainly that I had been three or four times at night to her apartment in order to contrive another marriage with her, according to your instructions. It was also said that the Counts Arundel and Paget went as well to converse with her, and gave her much admonition and advice. This plot was so ill-founded and so improbable that the Lady Elizabeth easily cleared herself to the Queen; and left the said lady entreating her not to put faith in stories to the disadvantage of the Princess without giving her a hearing, and the two sisters were completely reconciled. Nevertheless, Sire, I would have you believe that this said Lady Elizabeth is very closely watched; which is not done without some reason, for I can assure you, Sire, that she is most desirous of freeing herself from control . . . and from what I hear it only requires that my Lord Courtney should marry her, that they should go together to the counties of Devonshire and Cornwall. Here it can easily be believed that they would find many adherents, and they could then make a strong claim to the crown, and the Emperor and Prince of Spain would find it difficult to suppress this rising.”—De Noailles, the French Ambassador at London, to his King, Dec. 14, 1553.

* The complete account of this long illness is included in Nos. 14aa, Dec. 1553, to 28, in May, 1557, of the Med. Rec. It is the beginning of this illness that Mumby refers to (*The Girlhood of Queen Elizabeth*, p. 99) when he says: “. . . she (Elizabeth) called one of her ever-ready illnesses to her rescue . . .”—and this he does in face of the knowledge contained in the Med. Rec. Nos. just cited, for he prints substantially all of them.

him to Elizabeth, advising her to retire even further into the country as soon as the storm broke, fell into the hands of Mary, who, the next day, January 26, fearing that Elizabeth would fly, sent her an urgent message to come to Court. Elizabeth replied that she was too ill to comply, and that if Mary did not believe it, she should send down her own physician to see what the fact was. This proposal was accepted, Elizabeth in the interim fortifying her residence, and filling it with troops.

At first Wyatt met with uniform success, and in a week's time was even in possession of Southwark. Mary's ministers were panic-stricken, and all seemed lost—as it would have been except for two individuals, Mary and Renard, the Austrian Ambassador. Advised by the head of her own Government, Gardiner, the Bishop of Winchester, that her barge was ready at the water-gate to take her to Windsor, she had the good sense to reject the suggestion, and send for Renard. He saw the real situation, and told her that if she wished to remain Queen she must under no consideration flee from her palace. And she—for Mary was no coward—followed the counsel, with the single proviso that those to whom she had entrusted the leadership of her cause should fight it out. This instruction was obeyed, and the insurrection was finally conquered right under the walls of Whitehall itself, at the end of two weeks. The principal credit for the success belongs to Mary herself.

She then reversed the policy she had pursued towards those who had set Jane on the throne for nine days, when she had beheaded only the three chief conspirators. She had believed that her leniency would meet with appreciation and loyalty ; but her only return was this fresh rebellion, organized in the main by the same guilty leaders to whom she had then extended pardon ; and Mary Tudor for ever abandoned her former mercy. The heads of Lady Jane and her husband fell on the block within a week after Wyatt was defeated. The day after this latter event Renard advised Mary to destroy Elizabeth, and another, “ as it was notorious they were criminals and deserved death.” Charles V. sent a special ambassador to the Queen to urge this course ; and Mary acted at once, hurrying a commission to Elizabeth under positive orders to bring her to Court, if she could be moved without actually endangering her life. Arriving at Ashridge at ten at night, they

burst in upon her although she was sick in bed and delivered their orders, informing her that the Queen's physicians had already told them that she could make the journey without positive danger. She asked for a little respite to gain strength. This, however, was denied, except that the departure was postponed for a single day—the day when Lady Jane Grey and her boy-husband, both but sixteen years of age, were beheaded, an omen which must have weighed upon Elizabeth's heart like Death itself.

Elizabeth could only walk with assistance to the horse-litter in which she was to be conveyed, and before entering it she barely escaped swooning several times. The journey was planned at the rate of six, eight, seven, seven, and five miles *per diem* respectively, but the scheme could not be carried out, as she broke down on the fourth stage, and had to remain a whole week at Highgate before she could continue. De Noailles, the French Ambassador, writes of her here as facing no better fate upon her arrival in London than that of the "bravest and most valiant men of the kingdom" whose heads hung from gibbets on every hand, although she is "so very ill that nobody longer anticipates anything except her death . . . she is so swollen and weakened that she is a pitiful sight." Three days later he writes: "Madame Elizabeth . . . arrived . . . so ill with dropsy or some swelling which has attacked her whole body and even her face, that those who have seen her do not promise her long to live." Yet it was in this condition that she had been dragged about the country in a horse-litter for nearly a week! And when we read of the terrible events which now overtook Elizabeth, we find that this swelling, whatever it was, is continuously reported for more than *seven months*; and there is no record that it ended even then.*

Elizabeth, in the terrible condition described, was carried into Whitehall palace, a prisoner who was denied access to the Queen.

Then Renard began a campaign to secure the prompt execution of the invalid, and, aided by the treachery of conspirators who hoped thus to secure their own acquittal, a suffi-

* The Medical Record gives a consecutive account of these facts in Nos. 14c to 26, inclusive.

cient case was made out against her to result in her continued confinement under the strictest guards. In a month's time, Mary had decided to throw her into the Tower, as de Noailles had prophesied a week earlier, when he wrote to Paris : " They tell me that Madame Elizabeth . . . will be soon thrust into the Tower, no matter how ill she may be ; and she almost entirely swollen." This move came as a tremendous shock to Elizabeth, and she spent in prayer the night before she was to enter the most dreaded prison in Europe, with a new guard in the next room, and another pacing up and down beneath her window. Early the next morning, those who were to oversee her journey came to summon her, only to be met with the request that she be allowed to write to the Queen. Upon receiving assent, she penned the following desperate letter, which well discloses her view of her true situation :

" If ever any one did try this old saying, that a king's word was more than another man's oath, I must humbly beseech your Majesty to verify it in me, and to remember your last promise and my last demand, that I be not condemned without answer and due proof, which it seems that I now am ; for that without cause proved I am, by your Council, from you commanded to go into the Tower, a place more wanted for a false traitor than a true subject ; which, though I know I deserve it not, yet in the face of all this realm appear that it is proved, which I pray God that I may die the shamefullest death that any died, afore I may mean any such thing ; and to this present hour I protest afore God, who shall judge my truth, whatsoever malice shall devise, that I never practised, counselled, nor consented to anything that might be prejudicial to your person any way, or dangerous to the State by any means. And I therefore humbly beseech Your Majesty to let me answer afore yourself, and not suffer me to trust to your Councillors ; yea, and that afore I go to the Tower, if it is possible, if not, afore I be further condemned. Howbeit, I trust assuredly your Highness will give me leave to do it afore I go, for that thus shamefully I may not be cried out on, as now I shall be, yea, and without cause. Let conscience move your Highness to take some better way with me than to make me be condemned in all men's sight afore my desert known. Also, I most humbly beseech your Highness to pardon this my boldness, which innocency procures me to do, together with hope of your natural kindness, which, I trust will not see me cast away without desert, which, what it is, I would

desire no more of God than that you truly knew ; which thing, I think and believe, you shall never by report know, unless by yourself you hear. I have heard in my time of many cast away for want of coming to their prince ; and in late days I heard my Lord of Somerset say that, if his brother had been suffered to speak with him, he had never suffered ; but persuasions were made to him so great that he was brought in belief he could not live safely if the Admiral lived, and that made him consent to his death. Though these persons are not to be compared with Your Majesty, yet I pray God, as evil persuasions persuade not one sister against the other, and all for that they have heard false reports, and not hearken to the truth known ; therefore, once again kneeling with all humbleness of my heart, because I am not suffered to bow the knees of my body, I humbly crave to speak with your Highness, which I would not be so bold to desire, if I knew not myself most clear as I know myself most true. And as for the traitor Wyatt, he might, peradventure, write me a letter, but on my faith I never received any from him ; and as for the copy of my letter sent to the French King, I pray God confound me eternally if ever I sent him word, message, token, or letter by any means ; and to this my truth I will stand to my death your Highness's most faithful subject that hath been from the beginning, and will be to the end,

“ ELIZABETH.

“ I humbly crave but one word of answer from yourself.”

No response, however, came to this pitiful appeal, and at nine on the following day, Palm Sunday, March 18, 1554—a strange choice of a date for such a deed—she was rowed down the Thames through the rain and cold wind of the worst weather of the year ; for the authorities had no notion of permitting the people of London to witness so moving a spectacle as that passage through their streets would have supplied. Indeed, further to obviate any such danger, the city was specially enjoined by the Council to attend church at the hour when Elizabeth was to be smuggled down the river into the grim fortress, from whose battlements, as from the towers of the bridge which faced it, hung the bodies of scores of traitors drying in the sun. The heads of many another grinned at the passerby from the pikes on which they were stuck upright along the tops of the walls, food for the carrion birds that fought for their possession till only a whitened, glistening

skull remained. A descent into Avernus itself could have presented no more horror to the poor invalid girl approaching the dread fortress than Palm Sunday than these sights and the memory of all the murders that had taken place there, including that of her own mother, of Seymour, of the young Princes, and only a day or two before of her sixteen-year-old relative, Lady Jane, and her boy husband ! No other place in all the world had such gruesome portent for Englishmen—and for Elizabeth, more than all others.

To add to her terrors, the tide had been miscalculated ; Elizabeth's craft dashed against a buttress of the bridge, and stuck fast in the very cauldron of the falls that were then such a danger to navigation. But the boatmen at last got free and brought their precious passenger to the 'Traitors' Gate, another shock to Elizabeth, who flatly refused to enter by any place with such a name. On being informed, however, that there was no other course open, she acquiesced. One of the guard offered her his cloak to protect her from the storm, but she threw it scornfully aside, and, standing beneath the arch of the gate said : " Here lands as true a subject as ever landed at these stairs. Before thee, O God, I speak it, having no other friend but thee alone ! " Yet she could not bring herself to go further. Strength failed her altogether, and sick as she was, she sat down on a wet stone exposed to the wind and the rain, chilled to the very marrow, and refused to proceed. To the urgings of the commander of the Tower she only replied : " Better sit here than in a worse place, for God knoweth, not I, whither you will bring me. " None among the guards dared touch her ; and the impasse was only broken at last by the man-servant accompanying her, who so lost control of himself as to burst into tears at the sight of that friendless girl, perhaps already condemned, sitting there in the rain, surrounded only by the guards, who may have been even then under orders to cut off her head the moment she was within the frowning walls.

What a scene ! It was the lowest depth to which Elizabeth was ever called to descend. Only the sight of her one attendant in tears drew out in her that undying courage and pride which whispered that she must show herself a real Princess and a real Tudor. She proved it by rebuking him for weakness when

she needed his strength ; and arising, with head erect, she swept within.

So far the Emperor had triumphed. He and his fellow Catholics had induced Mary to throw Elizabeth into the Tower. That was the first great step ; now they must cause her to be beheaded. No risks were taken. She was not allowed to leave the one room to which she was first conducted. She was to hear Mass whether she wished it or not. A generation later, Elizabeth confided to the French Ambassador, Castelnau, that, believing she was doomed, she had decided to make but one request of Mary, and that was that the execution might be done with a sword instead of an axe, and that a Frenchman be sent for to do the deed.

Within a week of her imprisonment she was cross-examined by ten of the Council. They confronted her with hostile witnesses, and every art was employed to entrap her into some admission that she had had a part in the rebellion ; but she held her own against every man. They could not outwit her, nor catch her off her guard. Yet she was always in imminent danger. Out in the streets of the city the Protestants were trying to raise the people to protect her, and they could have adopted no course more perilous to the prisoner. The French Ambassador, having done everything he could to dethrone Mary, formally assured her of his congratulations upon her escape from her wicked enemies—although Mary knew, even while he was speaking, the entire history of his intrigues ; and this further hypocrisy gained nothing for the prisoner that it was intended to aid. The Emperor's representatives quoted from all history to demonstrate the need for the utmost severity toward Elizabeth. The great argument they used was, that mercy for this leader of the Protestants meant the downfall of the Reformation from their point of view—that is, one exactly opposed to what the Protestants designated by that term. Another argument with an especial appeal to Mary was, that Philip, whose betrothal ring was now on her finger, would not be safe for a moment with Elizabeth alive, to serve as a rallying-point for every bigoted Protestant.

In the meantime awful scenes were enacted all about the room occupied by Elizabeth. One by one the conspirators who crowded the great edifice were dragged forth, some to

the rack, others to the Green and the block. Wyatt himself was beheaded some three weeks after Elizabeth entered the Traitors' Gate ; yet she still survived, despite the incriminating testimony which the rack had caused the despairing witnesses to invent, hoping to save themselves from further punishment by implicating her. Something had to be done ; and the bigoted Gardiner, acting on his own account, sent an irregularly signed order to the commander of the Tower to cut off Elizabeth's head. The order should have been signed by Mary ; and, as the commander well knew from many similar events in English history, the man who obeyed such an irregular command was risking his life, he refused to comply without the requisite signature—and once more Death passed Elizabeth by. This attempt may very well have brought new friends to her banner. It is the sort of thing that the English always stigmatize with their worst epithet—"So un-English."

At any rate, the Council, from this time onwards, gradually turned from hostility to clemency. By the close of the first month of Elizabeth's imprisonment, when she complained that confinement to one room was retarding her recovery, she was permitted to take exercise in other rooms of the Tower, but only in the presence of some half-dozen officials, and with no possibility of looking out of the windows. Later on, she was permitted to walk in a little garden ; and Mary replaced Elizabeth's portrait in her boudoir, whence it had been removed when her guilt was first believed.

The fact seems to be that the Council could not make up its mind what it was best to do with Elizabeth. If it had been clear that England would have profited by her death, it would undoubtedly have been compassed ; but there were many uncertainties. A princess in those days often meant an alliance, and nobody could say what alliance might be advantageous to England.

Then there was the doubt as to what this coming Spanish marriage of Mary was likely to involve. Many Catholics did not like it. They were those to whom England always came first ; and Philip was continually endeavouring to force the Council into war in support of his schemes for Continental domination. Undoubtedly that was *his* main motive for espousing Mary, as it was the main motive of his father,

Charles V., in arranging the match. Nobody could say how the alliance would work out, and a royal princess might prove a great asset for both English Protestant and English Catholic.

After two months, then, of endeavour so to incriminate Elizabeth that she would be condemned by the Council, that body decided to let her out of the Tower, and confine her in some place more remote from her most militant followers. The intention, however, had been kept from all except those most deeply concerned, and Elizabeth could not but be startled when, on May 4th, she found herself confronted with a company of one hundred soldiers, under the command of Sir Henry Bedingfield, a rampant Catholic, who had just become Constable of the Tower. The first ejaculation of Elizabeth was: "Is Lady Jane's scaffold removed?" That it had been removed was something; but was Bedingfield a man who would commit a secret assassination if he were so commanded? Some reassurance was given her on this point; she was also informed that she would be given greater liberty to walk in the Tower, and that in other particulars she would find her imprisonment made less irksome.

These, on the surface, were favourable portents, but she was by no means easy or confident when, two weeks later, on the 19th of May, she found herself once more on the Thames, for Mary would not allow her to pass through the city, nor would she receive her. She was taken straight to Richmond, where her guards were doubled, and her servants removed, the very first night.

That seemed the end to Elizabeth. They had taken her down into the country, where she had no friends, in order to kill her. "This night I think to die,"* was her view; but the morning came with new orders for her to proceed at once to Windsor, since she had refused to buy her liberty from Mary by marrying the Duke of Savoy—a proposal which, as she saw at once, was only a subterfuge by which she could be got out of the kingdom.†

On "passing over the water at Richmond, going toward

* Foxe, iii. 947.

† Before she had left the Tower, an attempt had been made, with the same purpose, to procure her consent to a marriage with Don Louis of Portugal, brother of the King of that country; but Elizabeth could not be brought to the point of marriage with anybody, even if it seemed the only means of saving her life.

Windsor, her Grace espied certaine of her poore servants standing on the other side, which were very desirous to see her ; whom when she beheld, turning to one of her men standing by, she said : ‘ Yonder I see certaine of my men ; goe to them and say these words from me, *Tanquem ovis*, like a sheep to the slaughter.’ ” * No wonder that the girl was unable to regain strength enough to ride on this occasion or on any day of the journey to Woodstock which began on the morrow, but had to be carried the entire distance in a litter !—Nor is it more surprising that upon reaching the appointed nightly halt she went straight from the litter to her bed,† or to rest.

At Woodstock—which lay in the grounds of Blenheim Castle—Elizabeth was confined as a prisoner of state, from the 23rd of May, 1554, to the last week of May, 1555, being guarded night and day by some hundred men, under Bedingfield or his brother. As the royal palace was uninhabitable, Elizabeth was quartered in the gate-house, a dilapidated building. She was allowed six servants. No books, pens or ink or paper were permitted. She could only leave the house to walk in its garden, and that in her gaoler’s company. She could confer with nobody except in his sight and hearing, nor could she receive

* Foxe, iii. 947.

† There is a detailed account of the journey in the papers of Sir Henry Bedingfield in *Norfolk Archaeology*, vol. iv., beginning on page 148. Pertinent extracts are as follows : “ My Ladye Elizabeths grace dydde use the lytter which your highnesse (Queen Mary.—F. C.) sent hyr ; wherein she was ryght werye to my iudgement, the occasion rysyng off the *starll* off the same lytter beeng warpen and cast. Thys presente daye she hath not been verye well at ease . . . and yette at the afternoone she required to walke and see an other lodgyng in the house. . . . (Her true condition is plain from the fact that although the litter was painful to ride in, she must have been too ill to ride on a horse, or else this expedient would have been adopted.—F. C.) hyr Grace cam to the Castell (Windsor.—F. C.) gate to take hyr lytter . . . at West Wyckham (Sir William Dormer’s ladies) followed the lytter unto the doore where hir Grace alighted and wente out off hyr lytter, and so by them receyved into the house, and so hyr grace went into her chamber, from whence shee desyred not to sturre, beeng thereto moved by werynesse, as yt was to be judged. . . . (The next is the story of the stage from Dormer’s to the estate of Lord Williams, at Ricot, in Oxfordshire.) Ffyrst, hir grace entered the lytter at the halle doore . . . thus hir grace passed to the lorde Wylliams house . . . into the chambers in the inner Courte, and alighted oute off hyr lytter at the hall doore . . . ffrm whence she passed directlye to hyr lodgyng, from the which she sturred not untill she had supped . . . at hir gracs departing from the lorde Wylliams, hyr grace . . . passed thorough the hall, and at the doore off the same took a hyr lytter. . . . (On entering the house gate at the end of her journey, she) passed towards hyr lodgyng after hyr lyghtyng oute off the lytter, after whych tyme she sturred notte that nyght.”

or send any message from or to anybody whatsoever. These instructions were in writing signed by Mary herself. Over their details there were frequent trials of strength between Elizabeth, her gaoler, and Mary, during the ensuing year, with alternate relaxations and tightenings.

On the 9th of June, some twenty days after Elizabeth's arrival, Bedingfield reports to the Council that Elizabeth is afflicted with "swellyng in the visage at certayn tymes."—(Med. Rec. No. 19). Upon the 22nd of June, a letter is forwarded to him from one of the Queen's physicians, Owen, stating that the Council has informed him "that my ladye Elizabeths grace ys trobled with ye swellyng In hir face, & also of her armes and hands" and that it is impossible to give her remedies at that time of the year. This Item of the Med. Rec. No. 20, discovers that the affliction from which Elizabeth was suffering was much more than the mere swelling of the face which Bedingfield had reported a fortnight previous. Upon the 25th of June the Council writes that Elizabeth is still applying for a "phesician;" and on the same day Bedingfield reinforces the demand by a letter to Gage saying "that my l. Elizabeth's grace ys dayle vexed with the swellyng in the face and other parts off her bodye, & graunte that shee maye have . . . the quenes maiesties phesicons Immediatelye to repaire unto hir, whose counsell she velouslye desyreth, to devise remedie for swellyng in her face and other parts off hir bodye, wch I dooe see hir grace often vexed wth all . . ." (Med. Rec. No. 22). Some weeks later, on July 16, Bedingfield writes to the Council that the swelling continues and that "she was verye evell at ease."

Mary never ceased her endeavours to get the girl out of the kingdom. Two favourite schemes aimed at inducing her to live either in Brussels, or in Hungary, where she would be cared for by its Queen, Mary, the sister of the Emperor. But Elizabeth would not assent to any proposal that would take her, the leading Protestant and the heir to the throne, out of her own country.

In these hard days, she worked with her needle as her health permitted, and the Bodleian now contains her ornamentation of a beautiful copy of St. Paul's Epistles, produced while she was still under restraint. The work is signed "E. C.," that is Elizabeth *captiva*, after the statement "I walk many times

into the pleasant fields of the Holy Scriptures . . . and lay them up at length in the high seat of memorie." And ever after, throughout her career, she could quote the Scriptures impromptu, and, like Lincoln, employ them in the solution of her daily problems of statecraft, although the world at large has forgotten that such was the habit of this great woman. It is, however, well aware that she swore, a practice not all censurable in her day. She continuously acknowledged her dependance upon, and belief in, Almighty God, and as she had done her best to fulfil her duty to her people, she said that He who had placed her in such exalted state would defend her in it ; and who would like to deny that He did so ?

Into the contention between the two sisters now entered a new element. Mary was married to Philip II. of Spain on the 25th of July, 1554. Philip favoured Elizabeth, designing to use her as an offset to the French scheme for placing Mary Stuart on the English throne should the present Queen die ; but this portentous influence was long in bearing fruit. At the outset, the marriage only proved to the prisoner an additional cross, for the first result of the alliance between the two thrones was the supplanting of Protestantism by Catholicism as the state religion. This came to Elizabeth in the guise of an order that no prayers might any more be said in English, but only in Latin ; and Bedingfield was especially warned to report upon how his charge accepted the reform. He was obliged to say that she evaded the issue, and added that, do his best, he could not hear her read that portion of the amended prayers which called for a blessing upon the King and Queen, although she did command her priest to comply with the new order. Twice a week Elizabeth had to attend Mass, and always to refrain from any act of Protestantism.

Upon the 21st of October, 1554, Bedingfield wrote that Elizabeth wished the Queen now to send the physicians asked for in the preceding June, when she was swollen in the face, arms, hands, and parts of the body. This letter begs that the Queen's doctors may be sent down " for to mynister unto hir physyke, brynginge of their owne chose oon exparte Surgion to let hir gracs blode, yf the saide doctors or twoe of them shall thinke yt so good, uppon the vewe of hyr sewte at their comynge ;

to whych thre persons, or two of them, hyr grace sayethe she wyll comytte all the privities of hir bodye, or else to no cretures alyve, withoute the Quenes hyghnes especiall commaundement to the contrarye, which she trustethe hyr Majesty wyll not dooe. Hyr grace desyrethe that thys hyr sewte may have spede answer, whereby she maye inioye thys tyme of the yere apte for thys purpose afforesaide." (Med. Rec. No. 24.)

He closes the letter with these words: "(She says I) lake the knowlege, experience, and all other accidents in such a service requysytte, whych I must needs confesse, the helpe only hereof restyth in god, & the quenes majestie, with your honorable advysys. ffrom whence to receyve the dyscharge of thys my service, withowte offence to the Quenes majestie or yow, my good L., were the Joyfulleste tydyngs that ever came to me, as our L. almyghty knowethe, to whome all secrets be hydden "; and we now know that he had been intriguing long before this to be released from his disagreeable position. There can be no doubt that Elizabeth made his life miserable. It was her only hope ; and a more disagreeable place than his cannot be imagined, standing between these two angry sisters, the stalking-horse and scapegoat for both. We can well understand that release would indeed come to him as the " Joyfulleste tydings," with the superlative and its capital, that he could receive ; but he was not to be so fortunate.

The physicians came on the 29th of October, 1554, and bled Elizabeth twice on the next day, in the morning through the arm, in the afternoon through the foot, " since wych tyme," writes Bedingfield, " she doethe resonablye well " (Med. Rec. No. 25). Of course nothing worse for so weak and anæmic a patient as was Elizabeth could have been devised, short of killing her outright. With this report of Bedingfield's we have the last statement as to any treatment of this illness ; or indeed, as to any symptom of it, except that contained in the general note made over two years later, namely on the 15th of December, 1556, by the Bishop of Aix to the French King (Med. Rec. No. 27), wherein it is reported that Elizabeth is " so bad in health that they do not hope that she will live long, as much on account of the jaundice and the yellow sickness which she has, as for a shortness of breath with which she has been continuously suffering ever since the time when her sister began to maltreat

her, a condition which still continues." As the " maltreatment " of Elizabeth by Mary began in the autumn of 1553, we know that the shortness of breath, which was esteemed so dangerous a symptom three years later, had lasted for the whole of that period ; and (with the jaundice, and the yellow sickness, whatever that may have been) was still afflicting her even at its close.

We also know that some six months later, that is in May, 1557, only about eighteen months before she came to the throne, Michiel, the Venetian ambassador, described Elizabeth as possessing an olive complexion, which would seem to indicate that she was then still in the throes of the disease (Med. Rec. No. 28). Finally, there are the records of the general belief upon her accession that her career was bound to be short, an opinion supported by the successive illnesses during the first dozen years of her reign, illnesses which followed one another so rapidly, and so overlapped, that it is very doubtful if they can be separated from one another, or from those of the ten preceding years.

Mary made one more desperate effort to send Elizabeth out of the kingdom, an attempt probably influenced by the fact that Mary expected soon to be confined. The birth of a son to her and Philip would almost certainly establish the Catholic sway over England for a long period, and the view of the bigots who supported that position was that the hope of the opposition—namely, Elizabeth—ought to be safely marooned on the Continent, as it had been found unsafe to behead her upon the paltry evidence of her complicity with Wyatt.

The danger to the latest plan was twofold, *i.e.* firstly, that Elizabeth would flatly refuse ; and, secondly, that even if she did consent, she, or the hope of the throne of England, would convert any husband she might accept to the Protestant faith. The Duke of Savoy was the only prince on whom Philip and Mary could agree as certain to withstand these combined considerations ; and they made him present himself at Court in the last week of 1554. But Elizabeth stopped the scheme by peremptorily refusing to have anything to do with it ; and so, after several weeks of courting in the dark—for he never even saw the young woman he had hoped to impress—the Duke

returned to his native land. Elizabeth seems to have been no worse treated for her refusal—nor does she appear to have received any punishment for serving as the object of another of those sporadic revolutions, which her friends would, in spite of her, insist upon raising, in order to dethrone the Catholic sister, and enthrone the Protestant one.

This time the rising occurred in the eastern counties, but was soon suppressed—in February, 1555. The only result, as far as we can see, was the renewal of the attempt to induce Elizabeth to go abroad, even though she would not marry. The place once more was to be Flanders, where the Emperor and the Queen of Hungary would see that she was not able to escape, and return to her own land. On this occasion, the man selected by the Queen to negotiate with Elizabeth appears to have gone over to her side ; to have told her, moreover, that her friends were awake, and would match every plot against her by another in her favour. The Howards, her mother's relatives, were her chief and constant support, and they kept the Protestant flag flying so high that nobody in England dared pull it down—especially since so many Catholics were dubious as to the advantages of an alliance with Spain, which was in a life and death struggle with France where dwelt so many of their friends in the faith. The English councillors had made it very plain to Philip that they would not persuade Englishmen to agree to follow his troops all over Europe in his wars, and they further told him that these men would not go if they did extract such a promise. That was the one thing Englishmen would not do—and if there were attempts to coerce them, they preferred to be killed at home, at once, rather than suffer the same fate abroad, later on.

In short, the situation was too complicated for so slow a man as Philip, whose dominant characteristic, like that of Burghley, was caution ; and, as usual in such circumstances, Philip did nothing radical, and Elizabeth triumphed. Time had fought for her, and on the 17th of April, 1555, eleven months after leaving the Tower, Mary sent for her to come to Hampton Court, where the Queen was expecting that child who was destined never to exist.

Upon the journey to Hampton Court, every precaution was taken to prevent any approach to Elizabeth, and, on her arrival,

communication with the outer world was strictly forbidden. This went on for two weeks, when officials came from the King and Queen to say that before Elizabeth could hope for release, or for any reduction of rigour in her imprisonment, she would first have to confess her guilt to the Queen. If she would do this, they could promise her a favourable hearing.

The response was inevitable and immediate. She would die in prison before she would confess that of which she was not guilty ; it was not mercy she sought, but justice. The following day the officials returned to the charge. The plan they now adopted was to try to force Elizabeth into confession, in order that the idea might not be spread abroad that she had been wrongly imprisoned.

That was a specious plea, if shrewdly made ; but it would not serve. Elizabeth saw in the change of front a weakening attack, and she became more vehement than ever in her determination that she would never admit she had been in the wrong. Once again there was a trial of strength between the two sisters. For a whole week neither side moved ; and then, at ten at night, Elizabeth was suddenly summoned to see the Queen, upon whose face she had not looked for a year and a half. The lateness of the hour frightened Elizabeth, and she requested the prayers of her little court. She told them that she might never see them again, and she bade them farewell as if her fears were to prove well founded. As she stepped out with Bedingfield into the dark garden, with no light but that of the smoking torch he carried to guide their way, Elizabeth's thoughts must, indeed, have been fearful. She could be made to disappear at any instant into captivity, exile, or death out there in the blackness, for she was only a frail young woman fighting the Queen of the country.

But nothing happened, and she soon found herself in the presence of that woman, her sister, who had kept her in the Tower and other prisons for over a year. Theirs was no sisterly display of affection. There was no sister, no woman even, on the throne, for Mary had so arranged the *mise-en-scene* as to appear a monarch dispensing justice. After the three prescribed bows and kneelings, the suppliant prayed for release on the ground of innocence. Mary responded angrily that Elizabeth made a great mistake by not acknowledging the truth.

Further recriminations followed when Elizabeth maintained that it was the truth only that had been uttered. Finally, Mary declared that Elizabeth would always aver that she had been wrongly imprisoned ; but this Elizabeth promised not to do, although she would not admit that wrong had not been done. It was, we can see, a struggle for an admission from the one, in so many words, that she had been in the wrong, and the other in the right. The effort were not worth the time spent upon it. No Tudor would make such an admission ; and least of all, either one of these two women. One might give way, when she could no longer hold out—but *say* so she *never* would.

The interview ended with Elizabeth's promise not to *say* that she had been wrongly imprisoned. She arose from her knees, made three more bows, and retired, still facing that short, grim, wizened, sallow figure so soon to pass off the scene, and be replaced by the younger woman whom she had so cruelly confined. As Mary's eyes followed that retreating figure she must have thought that her own time for quitting the stage could not be very far distant, since she was well aware of her physical weakness.

No sign was vouchsafed Elizabeth for a week as to Mary's decision after their interview ; but at the expiration of that period Bedingfield and his soldiers departed, and Elizabeth was free of a visible armed guard for the first time for many months although she could not leave her apartment. Friends could be received, and she could again have her own retainers ; but here her freedom ceased, for the entire country was one seething cauldron of discontent, from the fumes of which Elizabeth could not possibly escape.

The advent of Philip, and the brilliant retinue he had brought to add to his dignity, only served the more to increase that hatred always felt by Englishmen for anything smacking of foreign rule. The more they saw of Philip and his friends the less the Londoners liked them ; indeed, it was unsafe for the Spaniards to move about the town ; and of course the bulk of the blame for their presence was laid at the feet of Mary.

Any chance that the King and Queen ever had of retaining the respect or affection of the English people was forfeited within some two months of their marriage, when they set up

that terrible Spanish institution, the Inquisition, the most awful instrument of intolerance and cruelty. The executions began in January, 1555, several months before Elizabeth came to Hampton Court; and by the barbaric flames of Smithfield the bigot on the throne earned that sobriquet of "Bloody Mary" which time can never efface. Nothing more was required to turn the Protestant wave into an irresistible flood. Men became militant Protestants who had had no religion, or at most were indifferent to the two schools. Opposition to the monarchs became the fashion. All, even the Catholics themselves, could see that the royal pair were playing a losing game. The stars fought against them—yet they would not yield. They meant to make as good a fight as they could; and they would not let go their hold on the leader of the Protestants, Elizabeth.

With affairs in this condition, it was more than ever inevitable that whatever happened unfavourable to Mary only served to add to the prestige of Elizabeth. With a million or more Catholics scheming to strengthen Mary's position, and an even larger number of Protestants scheming to weaken and discredit her, the entire Court was like a powder-magazine surrounded by a raging fire. This frail, sickly girl, Elizabeth, weakened with years of illness and of the most terrible anxiety and danger, was in the centre, was the centre itself, of this magazine. Both sides now waited to see the effect of an expected event—the birth of an heir to Philip and Mary; but it did not take place. The Protestants at once declared that the whole idea was a fraud, that Mary was not and never could be pregnant—for her sexual troubles were common knowledge—and that the plan was to make the people believe her in the hoped-for condition as a preliminary to the sudden production as hers of somebody else's child.

In this inferno, the French King never ceased to foment armed rebellions, and the country lived in apprehension of them. They broke out in all directions, but fate seems to have been against their success. They were often near it, but always failed at the crucial moment. Yet new ones continually arose. Every discontented man was at the task. All up and down the country the restless Protestants encouraged the fainthearted by the distribution of horoscopes setting forth how the stars decreed that Philip and Mary had but little

longer to reign. One of the authors of these horoscopes was a member of Elizabeth's own household. Waxen statuettes of the King and Queen, stuck full of pins (a device believed to effect the death of those represented), were to be found in many a house. Even at this present day we have seen the withered heart of a sheep hanging in an English home, bristling with pins inserted for the purpose of securing revenge upon the man who has wronged one of its inmates.

Trapped in Mary's castle, Elizabeth had but one earthly refuge, the goodwill of Philip and Mary. She attended Mass daily with Mary, and, when the inquisitors tried to ensnare her into admissions that would cast a slur upon her Catholicism, she proved herself master of them all. Cecil, later Lord Burghley, had to adopt similar tactics, and so far as profession went and outward show nobody was a more devout Catholic. Roger Ascham, who, as we have seen, had long been Elizabeth's tutor, and who was soon to rejoin her, changed from Protestant to Catholic, as did others of her household. They must not be blamed. It was merely a surrender in form, in order to save their heads from the block, or their bodies from the flames.

Where Elizabeth was concerned, the fanatics of Rome could not believe in the sincerity of her conversion ; probably because it was not sincere ; and soon Catholic priests were openly preaching that destroying only the branches of the false religion was not the way to destroy the tree. Burn the trunk !—that is, Elizabeth ! Yet Philip, it would seem, always stood at her side ; she was passed by, while others fed the fires.

Philip, in the meanwhile, was negotiating with her regarding her marriage with his son, Don Carlos, then a boy of ten. This affair went on for six months or more, Philip's emissaries visiting Elizabeth every day for long periods. Of course such a scheme, if consummated, would have been of the greatest benefit to Spain and the Catholics. It would have counterbalanced the loss that they had met with through the failure of progeny to Philip and Mary, now apparent to all ; and here no doubt we have one explanation of Philip's constant protection of Elizabeth. Yet another is that he offered marriage himself to Elizabeth after she became Queen. In short, we may conclude that Philip's habit of procrastinating until delay could

no longer be permitted, was the real saviour of Elizabeth. Philip knew that she might at some time be of service by marriage with some one approved by him, and that she must therefore be preserved.

Elizabeth, for her part, while resolved on no account to leave England, was also playing for what time might bring forth. She knew how the tide was setting. Her game was to move with that current, and see whither it would lead her. So, when Philip urged his boy upon her, Elizabeth did not decline him out of hand, but led the ambassadors on, protracting the proposal for months; and, incidentally, by appearing pliable to Mary and Philip, she improved her own position. For one thing, she obtained permission to leave the Court, where she was little more than a prisoner, surrounded by spies and gossips who reported the smallest details of her life; and in October, 1555, she returned to Hatfield with Ascham, with whom she now read several of the Greek classics.

Mary, fearing that the negotiations for Elizabeth's marriage with Don Carlos would go the way of all their predecessors, and confronted with the established fact that she herself must always be childless, upon meeting the new Parliament which she opened on the 21st of October, 1555, decided to urge that body to declare Elizabeth a bastard, and deprived of any right to ascend the throne. The French Ambassador organized the Protestants in the House against such a measure, and it was apparent that if it were persisted in a most desperate struggle would be precipitated; and that was precisely what Philip wished to avoid. Mary withdrew the Act, and this surrender marked the decline of her power. From that time onwards the Protestants were in the ascendant. The old sun was setting and the new one was in sight. Mary did not even dare urge the coronation of her husband.

Of course some heads were turned by the victory. The French King could not wait, and one of the most formidable revolutions broke out that Elizabeth's friends had succeeded in raising. The plot had ramifications extending all over England. The pretext was that Philip was using all the country's resources to help Spain on the Continent. London was to be set on fire in different places as the conspirators approached, and, upon paper, success appeared almost certain; but treachery

led to the sudden arrest of all the ringleaders, including two of the chief officers of Elizabeth's household. All were executed out of hand. Kate Ashley, three others of Elizabeth's ladies, and her Italian teacher, were sent to the Tower, and their rooms and effects searched—not in vain, for Protestant books inveighing against the true faith were discovered, and libels on the King and Queen. Hatfield was at once filled with soldiers, and the Council deliberated on sending Elizabeth to Spain, to the Tower, or to the Court. This was in March, 1556; and only a few weeks later Michiel reported to Venice that Mary was very anxious to get Elizabeth out of the Kingdom by marriage, but the latter had always said that she would not marry even the son of a king, or of any other great prince.

The Council ultimately decided to leave Elizabeth where she was. The truth is, that that body could no longer be relied upon by Philip and Mary to do *anything* against Elizabeth. Its control had passed to her and her friends. All they would do was to consent that the troops should remain in control at Hatfield—but Philip, always in favour of the *suaviter in modo*, and bearing in mind that Elizabeth might be of use to him, preferred to keep her in his debt rather than have her enmity. He therefore sent word from Brussels that he wished her to be treated leniently. Mary at once (8th June, 1556) ordered the withdrawal of the garrison from Hatfield, after it had been in occupation for some three months. This command was accompanied by an oral message from Mary, that she would not believe any of the confessions implicating Elizabeth made by the guilty among the rebels, and that henceforth she was to be treated with absolute confidence. The speaker suggested that it was Elizabeth's part to proceed in all haste to Mary, to thank her for her graciousness and mercy. Needless to say, Elizabeth did not comply with this hint, as Mary had hoped. It was another contest between the sisters to see which would surrender. When Elizabeth did not come, Mary observed that such stubbornness proved that Elizabeth was supported by the nobility or by some foreign Power: in fact, it was by both.

It was, however, no part of Mary's plan that Elizabeth should be free. The chief officers of her household, and her governess, were appointed by the Council; and the outbreak

of a fresh rebellion in July, again supported by France, did not improve her chances of complete restoration to liberty, although on this occasion nobody among her entourage was implicated. Kate Ashley was let out of the Tower, but forbidden to show herself at Hatfield.

On the 28th of November, 1556, two years before Mary's death, Elizabeth came to Court for the winter, at Mary's invitation. On the 3rd of December, the visit was cut short by Elizabeth's refusal to marry the Duke of Savoy, Philip having decided to support this old project rather than continue the effort of persuading Elizabeth to espouse his boy son, Don Carlos. Elizabeth, however, remained unmoved; and, having tried clemency for six months, after trying threats and imprisonment for several years, each with utter lack of success, Mary lost her temper, and revived the plan to have Elizabeth declared illegitimate, and so unable to inherit the throne. The threat this time must have been very real, and Elizabeth have perceived extraordinary danger in the air, for not only did she hasten into the country but, for the first time in all the critical years following the Seymour Affair, she deliberately set about laying detailed plans for an escape to the Continent. She applied to the French Ambassador to smuggle her to France.

Elizabeth's entire future hung on this proposed flight. She was eager to go. Few Englishmen will doubt that she refrained from so fatal a step because it was the Divine Plan that she should remain in England, to perform those great deeds for which she is so justly celebrated.

It was the French Ambassador de Noailles who kept Elizabeth's course true upon this one occasion in her whole life when she showed any inclination to run away from a threatening danger.

There is a limit to every one's power; the weakening of the physical body will ultimately compel the mind to surrender; and with her health in the state already described, made worse by the terrible anxieties of her daily life, with death always by her side, we cannot wonder that after three years of such mental strain, without a day of relief, Elizabeth's judgment was at last, for the first and only time in all her seventy years, shaken out of its steadiness until she became untrue to herself. She had reached the limits of her power of resistance, and she was

prepared to risk the loss of throne to obtain her personal security.

It was the second great crisis in the life of Elizabeth. Who would willingly contemplate what would have happened in England had Elizabeth been in France when Mary died, with Mary Stuart already married to the heir to the French throne, which she ascended within six months of the vacancy in England? *There* would be a fascinating study, with Elizabeth prisoner of Mary Queen of Scots!

As we have said, however, de Noailles kept Elizabeth true to herself. He told her bluntly that if she wanted to become Queen of England she could not leave. What would happen if, with her in Europe, Mary were to die? or, if Philip were to be badly defeated by France, and Mary were to attempt to send him reinforcements? In the former case, Elizabeth knew that many might try to seize the supreme power before she could return; and the ambassador urged that any attempt by Mary to send more Englishmen to be slaughtered in Philip's armies would arouse a storm that would sweep her off the throne. Elizabeth would need then to be on the spot just as much as if death were to make the throne vacant. Elizabeth's ambition and common sense reasserted control of her judgment; she was saved, and so was England, Great Britain, and the British Empire.

Parliament, however, could not be brought to legislate against Elizabeth, and Philip wrote sharply to Mary that he wanted the Princess married to the Duke of Savoy, apparently declaring that the Queen had not put sufficient pressure upon Parliament to get its consent to such a marriage. In reply Mary wrote that she had done all she could, and that it was useless for her further to urge the matter until he himself could come over and try his power. On this, he reached England in March, 1557, bringing two great ladies to exert their influence upon Elizabeth. She defeated him by refusing to receive or see these ladies, and by a formal declaration that she would die before she would either go to Flanders, or marry the Duke of Savoy.

That was checkmate; and when a fresh rebellion, financed by France, burst upon the kingdom within a month after his arrival, Philip abandoned the effort against Elizabeth, in order

to coax Parliament into granting him the armed assistance he and Mary hoped to secure for him in his own war against France. In this Philip was successful. The French by this new provocation had played into his hand ; and England, while it did not want to help Philip, was ready to fight France, so long as that country persisted in invading England with armed forces.

England undoubtedly hoped to see Mary dethroned, but it wanted to do its own dethroning. Strangely enough, Englishmen like to govern themselves. They want no foreign intervention ; and their reply to France in this instance on the 7th of June, 1557, was a declaration of war. Philip had attained his great object, military assistance from England. It had taken him nearly four years to procure it, but he had won in the end ; and when, on the 3rd of July, 1557, he bade adieu for ever to his Queen, and set sail for the battlefields of France, he must have felt well satisfied with his marriage. From no point of view could his wife reciprocate in her estimate of their joint venture. It had brought naught but a continuous train of disappointment, disillusion, and pain. Her power, once absolute, was gone for ever. Her reputation as a Christian woman was gone also ; she was dubbed with the nickname that made and makes her name the most awful of all names among the monarchs of England.

She had sought with all her might to enhance the power of Rome in England. She had for ever reduced it to insignificant proportions. To found a Catholic dynasty she had risked her throne and the loyalty of her people ; she had weakened the former and forfeited the latter ; and she was a doomed woman ! In but little over a year she was to face her Maker, and answer for more mistakes than are made by most, and seek mercy for some of the most hideous crimes recorded in history. We are glad to believe that the little we have written of her pathological history shows that she was only partly accountable for the terrible alteration of her character as she approached her death.

The war with France dragged wearily on, at first successfully ; but in January, 1558, the last year of Mary's life, a loss befell that is a landmark in English history, for it for ever put an end to Britain's dominion across the seas—that dominion which

had been greater than France itself. Calais was retaken by the French; and Mary after that time merely lay down and died. She could only hang her head, and cry that if her heart were opened after her death they would find "Calais" written upon it.

The city fell in the first week of January, 1558, and, overwhelmed with this last shipwreck of all the argosies she had sent out on the sea of fate—oppressed by the continuous ill-health that had been her portion for so many years, Mary instinctively turned toward the sister she had so deeply wronged, and sought reconciliation. The outward manifestation of their drawing together first appears in Elizabeth's arrival at Court on the 25th of February, where she remained a week. Mary then made it known that Elizabeth was to be the heir to the throne.

The long night was past. From the beheading of Seymour to this lifting of the shadows, nine years had elapsed, all but a month; nine years of such dangers, anxieties, and mental suffering as cannot, so far as we are aware, be matched in all the annals of history concerning one so young—from fifteen to twenty-four.

The Queen was now dying, and the sycophants hurried to Hatfield to pay their respects to her successor. Since no more was to be got out of Mary, she was deserted by all except her paid attendants. The Great North Road which led to Hatfield was crowded with the place-seekers, fighting to present their respective claims.

This spectacle Elizabeth never forgot. It showed her indelibly—when very old she spoke of it in this fashion—the real spirit of the courtier. She saw that if the monarch is to rule, he must as far as possible keep the identity of his successor secret, otherwise, as he himself grows old, the Court will turn more and more toward the coming king.

Here is the foundation of that policy which Elizabeth pursued with reference to James up to the last ten days of her reign—one of the profoundest and most successful of her many triumphs*—and Froude ascribes this success to good fortune!

* "They say for certain that the Queen on no account desires the declaration of a successor, and tells those who speak to her about it that she does not want anyone to whom her subjects could go secretly and offer their devotion as they came to her when she was a prisoner."—The Spanish

In August, 1558, Mary, finding her strength failing rapidly, moved up to St. James's Palace to meet Death. It was three months in coming, but it came at last, as the dawn broke on the 17th of November, 1558, when with the responses "*Miserere nobis. Miserere nobis. Dona nobis pacem,*" for her last words to the priest who held the Crucifix before her, she lowered her eyelids, and was no more. The Woman of Sorrows, as she might well be called, was dead. History has besmirched her as Bloody Mary, and like that of her father, her name has come down to us weighted with centuries of continuous execration. She does not deserve such a fate. She never had a chance to be a normal woman. Her misfortunes may be properly ascribed to her father, and for Mary there should be only pity, for she was helpless. The shackles that bound her were too heavy for her to burst, and they were riveted upon her when she was born.

At Hatfield, surrounded by a brilliant assembly, Elizabeth was seated under the spreading branches of a great oak (which is still standing) when the news came that she was Queen. She fell upon her knees and repeated these words from the Psalms: "*A Domino factum est istud, et est mirabile oculis nostris.*" ("It is the doing of the Lord, and it is marvellous in our eyes.")

The British Empire was born.

When Elizabeth ascended the throne, she was two months beyond her twenty-fifth birthday; and, except for her physical weakness, no woman or man can be imagined better qualified for the gigantic tasks that confronted her for the next forty-five years. She was as learned as anybody could be then or can be now. She knew modern languages well enough to speak and write them perfectly and fluently. She knew Latin equally well; and Greek she had thoroughly mastered. History, especially political history, she had reflected upon and studied unweariedly. She had pursued every prominent branch of learning until there remained little more that could be taught her.

More than all this, however, she had been educated in the actual conduct of the most nerve-shaking, the most dangerous,

the most critical affairs of life. She had been humbled by disgrace, by slander, and by libel, to which she could offer no effective defence, from which she could only suffer as she waited for the truth to emerge. She had passed an entire decade, several months of it in the most dreaded prison in Europe, with the sword of death suspended above her by a mere thread, night and day. She had suffered the shock of the violent death of some among her nearest and dearest. She had learned patience and sympathy by ten years of continuous ill-health and terrible suffering. Before she was twenty she had seen her youth fade, until she had become a thin, sallow, anæmic woman, old before her time.

She had had it burnt into her soul that men would pretend love so as to gain worldly promotion ; that they would use women in any way that would advance their own interests—and that those once attained or lost, they cared not what fate they brought upon the helpless beings who had believed in their professions of undying affection. She had learned that the greatest ambassadors, and the greatest monarchs, would pretend loving friendship, while in reality they intended hateful wrong ; that the spoken and even written word was nothing, but the action everything.

She had measured dialectic swords with the best brains of France, of Spain, of Austria, of Venice, of Rome and of England—and she had found that she was as acute as any of them, often more so. She had been betrayed time and again by the very people that she had trusted most. She had learned that no man and no woman could be depended on to retain a secret, if sufficient pressure were exerted from the right quarter, and at the right time, to discover it. She knew how to gain popular approval, and how easily it was forfeited. She had experienced poverty.

In a word, she knew life as it really is. None can suggest any alteration in her training or in her experience that could have made her a more competent monarch at the age of twenty-five.

CHAPTER VIII

THE DIRECT CHARGES AGAINST ELIZABETH

WE are now in a position to judge correctly what manner of woman Elizabeth was at the time of her accession, but let us recur to one fact, that mentioned by Dr. Keith in the closing words of his *Opinion*, namely :

"In a medical sense her sexual system was blasted ; she had neither the instinct of sweetheart nor mother—for these instincts are impossible in such a frame as hers. . . . I think her selfishness—for her crown and her kingdom as much as for herself—must be sought in her really sexless condition. Even the sexless individual has an attenuated faculty of playing on the surface of love—of sniffing the fruit which they have not the capacity of tasting. Elizabeth toyed with her young men, but one cannot conceive more than that."

There is also a corollary to this dictum of Dr. Keith—that if he be wrong in believing that Elizabeth lacked sexual feelings because she had no sexual system, there are two other statements as axiomatic, namely : That ordinarily and generally a woman who is anæmic, or in chronic ill-health, has less inclination for sexual indulgence than one of that super-abundant health which Elizabeth has always been credited with possessing, or than those of normal health—just as the anæmic woman is less inclined than the normal one to doing anything whatever. The second axiom is this : That the great majority of women, unlike men, never feel any sexual inclination before marriage. The only authority we quote is below.* The truth is too generally known for any labouring of the point.

* "There is not the slightest doubt that a large proportion of women do not experience the slightest desire before marriage."—*Differences in the Nervous Organization of Man and Woman*, Campbell, M.D., B.S., p. 200

There is only one word more to be said before we detail the specific charges against Elizabeth. The great pride of her life was that she was THE QUEEN. She brooked no opposition from any source, foreign or domestic. She was the personification of the Tudors, the most autocratic monarchs who ever occupied an occidental throne.

She was the last monarch of England. Complete and absolute domination, she insisted upon to the end of life, because she believed that it was best for her country, the love of which was the only passion that ever possessed her. England, England and the welfare of her people were the undying aims of her career. A Queen, boasting of her virginity, and taking great pride in it, who, to advance England's interests, sends agents into a foreign country and directs her ambassadors to proclaim her a wanton, loves that England more than herself or any man.* We shall recur later to this in greater detail.

Every thing, and every man, and every woman, standing in the way of England, had to go down. She used men for England, and when they were unable longer to serve England they were displaced with absolute ruthlessness. After she had beheaded Essex for his traitorous rebellion against her, she told the French Ambassador that :

"having well judged that his impatience and ambitious designs would bring misfortune on him, she had warned the said Count more than two years before that since he took every occasion of displeasing her and insolently despising her person, he should be careful not to touch her sceptre, so that she would be compelled to punish him according to the laws of England and not according to her own, which he had found too gentle and favourable to fear that they would ever do him harm." †

All men belonged to the State ; and she, placed in her exalted station, as she firmly believed, by Almighty God for that purpose, represented the State.

We find the great Spanish envoy, the Duke de Feria, writing to Philip, less than a month after the beginning of her reign, "She gives her orders and has her way as absolutely as her

* De Quadra to Philip, 7th Feb., 1563 : *Cal. of S.P., Simancas*, vol. i. p. 299. *Vat. Arch. Nunt. di Spagna*, vol. viii. fol. 601.

† M. de Beaumont au Roi, 10th June, 1602. *Baschet Trans. P.R.O.*, Bundle No. 33.

father did." When Leicester, puffed up by his great place in her court, attempts to push by a sentry who has been ordered by Elizabeth to permit nobody to pass, she blazes out at him : " God's death, my Lord, I have wished you well, but my favour is not so locked up for you, that others shall not participate thereof, for I have many servants . . . and if you think to rule here, I will take course to see you forth coming : I will have here but one Mistress and no Master."

She imprisoned ambassadors of the Great Powers as freely as she would her own subjects. She had their houses and papers searched at will. She seized bullion by the million belonging to a friendly Power—at least there was no declared war—that a passing chance had driven into her port, and deflected it into her own treasury. Upon meeting a great embassy from France, along the road, she masked her face and would not permit its head to greet her until he had turned and followed her hat in hand for hundreds of yards before his 400 retainers, and so paid tribute to her country.

When the House of Commons sent her a deputation, headed by the Speaker and the Duke of Norfolk, to urge her to name a successor, she turned on them with :

" My lords! do yourselves what you choose; but as to myself, I will only act as I think proper. All the Orders you may make can have no force without my consent and authority *What you desire is of too great importance to be declared to a collection of brains so light.* It well deserves that I should take the counsel of men who understand the rules of public right and the laws, as I am determined to do. I shall select half a dozen of the most competent which can be found in my kingdom to consult with them, and after such a conference I will communicate to you my will."

To a later Parliament she made her Lord Keeper, Bacon, declare in her name that " she enjoined them not to meddle with any matters of state." She summons a leader of the House before her Council for introducing a bill to reform the liturgy, and prohibits him from appearing in the Commons at all. To other members who offend, she sends word that she will correct them for their " audacious, arrogant, and presumptuous folly, by which they are thus led to meddle with what nowise belongs to them, and what is beyond the compass of their understanding."

Upon a later occasion, when the Speaker of the House appeared before her to make the usual requests upon its behalf that its members be free from arrest, have access to her person, and liberty of speech, she replied that liberty of speech was granted to the House :

“ but they must know what liberty they were entitled to ; not a liberty for every one to speak what he listeth, or what cometh in his brain to utter ; their privilege extended no farther than a liberty of Aye or No : That she enjoined the Speaker, if he perceived any idle hands so negligent of their own safety, as to attempt reforming the church, or innovating in the commonwealth, that he should refuse the bills exhibited for that purpose, till they were examined by such as were fitter to consider of these things, and could better judge of them.”

When a worthy gentleman presented a petition transgressing this admonition, he soon found himself in the Tower, while his three seconders went to Fleet prison, and the Queen put the offending bill in her own pocket, after having required the Speaker to deliver it into her hands. As he kneeled before her, she said that she had “ enjoined them already . . . to meddle neither with matters of state nor of religion ; . . . and took the present opportunity to reiterate the commands . . . to require that no bill regarding either state affairs or reformation in causes ecclesiastical be exhibited in the House : And in particular she charged the Speaker upon his allegiance if any such bills were offered, absolutely to refuse them a reading, and not so much as permit them to be debated by the members.” The bold man who had caused this outburst was dragged out of the House of Commons, “ discharged from his office of chancellor of the dutchy, incapacitated from any practice in his profession as a common lawyer, and kept some years in Tilbury castle.” *

To a Dutch delegation she said that any promise she might make was not to be taken literally, but as meaning that she would do what she thought was for their interests ; for “ princes . . . transact business in a princely way and with a princely understanding such as private persons cannot have.”

The Crown really chose every member of Parliament, and

* Heylin's *History of the Presbyterians*, p. 320.

woe to the man who did not vote as it wished ! He was often thrown into gaol. Jurors were treated in the same fashion, who did not render the verdicts the judges wished for, and the judges were told by the Government what verdicts it required.

Religion fared no better. The bishop who preached Mary's (her sister's) funeral sermon found himself under arrest for suggesting that the dead " had chosen the better part " ; that is, in being a Catholic. When a bishop married against Elizabeth's expressed rule that Churchmen should not enter that estate, he found his see deprived for ninety-nine years of its main sources of income. When she did not like the political sermons fulminated from St. Paul's Cross, she had its pulpit locked. When the Dean of St. Paul's at a public sermon enunciated some observations that displeased her, she threw open the window of her private closet, in which she always worshipped, and shouted to him, " Leave that ungodly digression, and return to your text."

Burghley, Walsingham, Leicester, Essex, and all the rest were no more than head clerks, or personal secretaries of the Queen. They did nothing except what they were told to do. Their correspondence is full of things they cannot deal with until they are brought to the attention of the Queen. Their daily custom was to prepare a list of the things to be done, and each morning before beginning work to submit it to the Queen for her decision. In time of stress the entire Council, and all the high officers of State, were confined to the castle then inhabited by the Queen, and there they remained till she was done with them. Night after night she had them summoned at two, three, and four in the morning to sit with her at the Council table. Her standing orders were to be awakened the instant important news arrived. There were no week-ends. She worked night and day, and every night and every day, and so did those she had chosen to assist her, or they did not assist her longer.

The western world has never seen such another absolute monarchy ; and no view that Elizabeth was not the real power, driving force, and brain of her Government ever obtained among her contemporaries.

Every monarch in Europe so considered her. The Pope said that he and she were the only rulers capable of their tasks.

The Spanish Ambassador, thwarted and overreached by the same double dealing he had employed to ruin Elizabeth, and defeated by an acuteness even beyond his own, cried, "She is possessed by the devil, who is dragging her to his own place." Within a year of her accession he bursts out that she "must have a hundred thousand devils in her body." "The Queen of England, I know not how, penetrates everything," complains the Nuncio in Flanders; being merely a man, how *could* he know how she did it? Against *HER*—and never against Burghley or any other man in Elizabeth's entourage—is directed all the hatred of the baffled diplomats at her Court. Another of the Spanish Ambassadors calls her "a putrid member cut off and eradicated from the mystical body of Jesus Christ." "Jezebel," and "English Virago" were favourite terms employed by the emissaries of the Vatican in reporting her doings and their failures. The Duke de Feria shouts "She is the daughter of the devil!" when she has fooled him instead of his fooling her, as had been his elaborate and unscrupulous plan. Henry III. calls her "the most acute (*fine*) woman in the world." Cromwell speaks of her as "that great Queen"; and Cromwell knew many men who had well known her. The secretary of the French embassy says of her that "She is a great princess who is ignorant of nothing." The French Ambassador remarks that "The Government depends entirely upon the Queen." Burghley himself says that she is "The wisest woman that ever was; for she understood the interests and dispositions of all the princes in her time, and was so perfect in the knowledge of her own realm, that no counsellor could tell her anything she did not know before." At another time he said: "No one of her Councillors could tell her what she knew not; and when her Council had said all they could, she could find out a wise counsel beyond theirs; and that there never was anie great consultation about her country at which she was not present . . ." A French Ambassador not yet quoted, writing to his sovereign, exclaims: "She is one of the wonders of the world." The Venetian Ambassador reports that "Her intellect and understanding (*spirito et ingegno*) are wonderful." Four years after Elizabeth's death, another Venetian Ambassador to London, Molin, reports of her to his Court: "She was the most remarkable princess that has

appeared in the world for these many centuries. In all her actions she displayed the greatest prudence. . . . I say, in conclusion, she was the most prudent in governing, the most active in all business, the most clear-sighted in seeing events, and the most resolute in seeing her resolutions carried into effect . . . in a word, [she] possessed, in the highest degree, all the qualities which are required in a great prince."* De Thou, the great contemporary historian, writes: "In all the centuries that have passed, there has never been seen a woman who could be considered the equal of this great Queen." The Duke de Sully, the principal minister of Henry the Great, and contemporary, this time one who had had long years of negotiations with her, and speaking after a prolonged interview with her, writes thus: "I acquiesce in the eulogy bestowed upon her by Thuanus, who concludes his enumeration of her great abilities by saying that she had those of a king, not merely as such, but of a very great king. I cannot bestow praises upon the Queen of England equal to the abilities which I discovered in her in this short time, both as to the qualities of her heart and of her understanding." The Swedish Ambassador in London, after many months of negotiations with her, reports, three years after her accession: . . . "She is of a curious and perspicacious mind, deep and very prudent, so that she learns from one sentence and word many and various things on account of her past evils and experience in many matters . . . she is of great and high ability." The greatest of all the Popes, a contemporary of Elizabeth, exclaimed in admiration for her—and himself—that if he and she could have a child, that offspring would rule the universe. The followers of Froude may if they like—and they must, to be consistent—think that the Pope was referring to Burghley, but that hardly seems reasonable.

We could fill page after page with similar tributes, but they would be merely cumulative. The *contemporary* judgments, the only ones that count, paid to Elizabeth by those best qualified to know her worth and ability, form a unanimous chorus of unstinted praise. Nobody for centuries before Froude ever advanced the theory that Elizabeth was only the

* Harl. Lib., *Venetian*, No. 1; no. respecting England in 1607. Cf. *C.S.P. Venetian*, vol. 10, p. 510.

figurehead of her Ship of State—and nobody has since followed him. To do so would be, in the face of the evidence, too foolish ; and let us repeat that this absolute monarchy was in the hands of one who whole-heartedly believed that God had placed her in that situation because He could, with her as an instrument, accomplish more for England and for her people than by any other agent.

* * * * *

In the month of March, 1915, some research, the exact object of which is now forgotten, led us to re-read—not for the first time—the first edition of Lingard's final volume, wherein he epitomizes his study of the Great Queen. He says :

“ To her first parliament she had expressed a wish that on her tomb might be inscribed the title of ‘ the virgin queen.’ But the woman who despises the safeguards, must be content to forfeit the reputation, of chastity. It was not long before her familiarity with Dudley provoked dishonourable reports. At first they gave her pain : but her feelings were soon blunted by passion : in the face of the whole court she assigned to her supposed paramour an apartment contiguous to her own bed-chamber : and by this indecent act proved that she was become regardless of her character, and callous to every sense of shame.”

The last word was followed by a reference to the following footnote—which, by pure mischance, we had never read before—which Lingard offers as authority for the statement. (We here begin to number consecutively all the items of the accusations against Elizabeth.)

CHARGE I—

“ Quadra, bishop of Aquila, the Spanish ambassador, in the beginning of 1561, informs the king, that according to common belief, the Queen ‘ lived with Dudley ’ : that in one of his audiences Elizabeth spoke to him respecting this report, and, in proof of its improbability, shewed him the situation of her room and bed-chamber : *la disposition de su camera y alcoba*. But in a short time she deprived herself of this plea. Under the pretext that Dudley's apartment in the lower story of the palace was unwholesome, she removed him to another, contiguous to her own chamber : *una habitacion alta junto a su camera, pretestando que la que tenia era mal sana*. The original

despatches are at Simancas, with several letters from an English lady, formerly known to Philip (probably the marchioness of Winchester), describing in strong colours the dissolute manners both of Elizabeth and her court. I may here add that, although some writers have refused to give any credit to the celebrated letter from Mary (Queen of Scots.—F. C.), in Murdin, 558, yet almost every statement in it has been confirmed by other documents." (This letter we shall usually refer to as "The Scandal Letter."—F. C.)

To our amazement we saw that the footnote said nothing that could be taken as conclusive, as readers will discern. They will also find that Lingard translated *camera y alcoba*, in the first Spanish quotation, as "room and bed-chamber," using *camera* for a room as distinguished from a bed-chamber. Yet, in his second Spanish excerpt he uses *camera* not as "room" but as "chamber"; and as he spoke of a room and bed-chamber in the first place, and only of a "chamber" in the second, the ordinary reader would conclude that what Lingard sought to convey was, that, according to the report of the Spanish Ambassador, Elizabeth and Dudley occupied adjoining bed-chambers; an impression endorsed by the main text, where the assertion is made in so many words. The mere statement as to such a contiguity of bed-chambers, accompanied by no explanatory statement, would very generally be taken as an indication of criminal relations between the young Queen and the young man, for whom she plainly showed affection.

The discrepancy between the contents of this footnote and the statements for which it was quoted as authority suggested to us that Lingard was endeavouring to instil into his readers a belief for which he felt he had too little real evidence.

The matter was relatively unimportant, yet our suspicions were aroused, and that for the first time; for, as said in the Introduction, we began to study Elizabeth in the belief that if there were one thing known about her beyond cavil it was her immorality. It was only after three years and more of constant research into her career that the first doubt as to the soundness of this position came upon us.

We could not, however, in any report of correspondence at Simancas, find a letter from the Spanish Ambassador stating

that "according to common belief the Queen lived with Dudley ; that in one of his audiences Elizabeth spoke to him respecting this report ; and, in proof of its improbability, shewed him the situation of her room and bed-chamber : "*la disposition de su camera y alcoba.*"

The only thing we could discover suggesting it was the *résumé* at Simancas of a letter or letters—it is uncertain which—printed in Spanish at Madrid, in 1832, by Don Tomas Gonzales Carvajal. There we discovered this : "The rumours that Elizabeth now indulged in illicit relations with Leicester became so prevalent that in one of the audiences which she gave the ambassador Quadra, she tried to exculpate herself by showing him the arrangement of her apartment and bed-chamber, seeking to persuade him that the reports were unfounded and calumnious."* So that, while we could not find the letter itself, we had something to support the story. The investigation into the other part of this tale of Lingard's, namely—"in a short time she deprived herself of this plea. Under the pretext that Dudley's apartment in the lower story of the palace was unwholesome, she removed him to another, contiguous to her own chamber : *una habitacion alta junto a su camera, pretestando que la que tenia era mal sana*"—very soon developed a different aspect, and one much more suspicious ; for while Lingard said that Leicester was given *una habitacion*, Froude cited the original Spanish as *un aposento*,† Carvajal gave *un cuarto*, and the Spanish official publication of the phrase agreed with Froude's *un aposento*.‡ Moreover, Froude's Transcripts in his own hand, made at Simancas, gave *un aposento*. There were, besides, other variations. Lingard says that Elizabeth made this change *pretestando que la que tenia era mal sana*—that is, "pretending that the one he had was bad for his health." Carvajal says, "*pretestando que era mal sano el que tenia abajo.*" Froude reads "*por ser más sano que el que tiene abajo*" ; while the official Spanish text reads

* "*Era tan pública la voz de que Isabel tenia relaciones estrechisimas con Robert, que en una de las audiencias que dió ella al embajador Quadra, trató de sincerarse manifestándole toda le disposicion de su Cámara y alcoba, persuadiéndole que eran calumnias infundadas todos aquellos rumores.*"—*Memorial de la Real Academia de la Historia*, vol. vii. p. 284.

† Froude, vol. vii. ed. 1863, note on p. 338.

‡ *Coleccion de Documentos Inéditos Para La Historia De España*, tomo lxxxvii. p. 339.

"*por ser más sano que el que él tenía abajo.*" In other words, Lingard, in quoting a phrase of ten words, had inserted three altogether new, had failed to copy five that were in the original, and had misquoted one other.

Now we knew that Carvajal's work, the first in point of time to refer to this matter, was not printed until nine years after Lingard published his version. Froude worked at Simancas twenty-five years later than the date of Lingard's volume, and the official Spanish reading did not appear until nearly half a century after the publication of Froude's. We had seen no statement that Lingard had ever been to Spain; and besides the discrepancies in this quotation, there was the fact that neither Froude nor M. A. S. Hume, nor the editors of the Spanish official reproduction of the Simancas documents, nor anybody else who had worked at that famous library, had ever found therein any letter resembling that which Lingard says was there, mentioning the Spanish ambassador's report that "according to common belief, the Queen 'lived with Dudley': that in one of his audiences she spoke to him respecting this report, and, in proof of its improbability, shewed him the situation of her room and bed-chamber."

It was evident that there was something radically wrong in Lingard's information, as indeed proved to be the case. The solution will be given later when we come to cross-examine Lingard. In the meantime, the reader is informed that the Ambassador de Quadra did actually, on the 12th of April, 1561, write a letter to Philip, in which these words occur: "Lord Robert's discontent has ended in her giving him an apartment in the story near her own, as it is healthier than the one he had beneath. He is most content." *

CHARGE 2—

A study of Lingard's assertion that there are at Simancas "several letters from an English lady, formerly known to Philip (probably the marchioness of Winchester), describing in strong colours the dissolute manners both of Elizabeth, and her court," did not yield any more satisfactory evidence than

* *El descontento de Milord Roberto de los días pasados ha parado en que le ha mandado la Reina dar un aposento en lo alto junto al suyo, por ser más sano que el que él tenía abajo, y está contentísimo.* This is the correct version. *V. Coll. de Doc. Inéd. tomo lxxxvii. p. 339.*

that which we have already considered. Lingard, in short, is the only authority for the existence of any such letters, either now or in the time of Philip ; but any statement explaining Lingard's position must be postponed until his charges are subjected to closer scrutiny. We may, however, indicate that the difficulty lies once more in the source of his information.

* * * * *

Nor was our suspicion lessened by reading the sentence in which Lingard says, *ante*, " But the woman who despises the safeguards, must be content to forfeit the reputation, of chastity . . . in the face of the whole court she assigned to her supposed paramour an apartment contiguous to her own bed-chamber : and by this indecent act proved that she was become regardless of her character, and callous to every sense of shame."

It is not too much to say that this is nonsense. Yet, imbued with belief in the Queen's immorality, we had read these extraordinary conclusions many times without realizing the insecurity of their foundation. Suspicion once excited, however, we saw at last the speciousness of the words. We concluded that, if this be a specimen of the strongest statement that a Catholic historian—one who by reason of his training must start his work with a prejudice towards Elizabeth—can cite against Elizabeth, and if he is further forced to emphasize his evidence as he does in this footnote, the case against her is very weak ; and we determined on further experiment.

The next obvious step was to see if Lingard had altered his views. We sent for his last edition, the fifth, printed in 1849, and revised by Lingard himself, twenty-six years later than the date of his first edition, already quoted. It discovered that Lingard had remained up to the very close of his life in the same mind, and that in the score of years between these two editions he had brought forward what he conceived to be more damning evidence to support his contention. He had inserted these words in the first note, *ante*, after the second Spanish quotation—which he said meant that Dudley had his room next to Elizabeth's bed-chamber :

CHARGE 3—

" In September of the same year these rumours derived additional credit from the change in the queen's appearance.

'*La reyna (a lo que entiendo) se hace hydropica, y comienza ya a hincharse notablemente . . . lo que se parece es que anda discarda* (Should be *descaecida*.—F.C.) *y flaca en extremo, y con un color de muerta . . . que la marquesa di Noramton y milady Coban tengan a la reyna por pelegrosa y hydropica, no hay duda.*' . . . See note (EE) at the end for an account of a supposed son of Elizabeth and Leicester."

Our readers will at once recognize that they are not reading anything new. They recall Item No. 38 in the Med. Rec. which we repeat in full so that we may have before us not only the abbreviated version of Lingard, but the entire statement as originally written.

"What is of most importance now is that the Queen is becoming dropsical, and has already begun to swell extraordinarily. I have been advised of this from three different sources, and by a person who has the opportunity of being an eye-witness. To all appearances she is failing, and is extremely thin and the colour of a corpse. . . . That the Marchioness (of Northampton) who is in a better position to judge than anyone else . . . and Lady Cobham consider the Queen in a dangerous condition is beyond doubt, and if they are mistaken I am mistaken also. I can obtain no more precise intelligence. . . ."—De Quadra from London to Madrid, 13th of September, 1561.

The assertion that this recurrence of the terrible illness from which, as we know, Elizabeth had been suffering for many years, was the source from which "these rumours (of Elizabeth's illicit relations with Leicester) derived additional credit" was certainly not supported by his quotation. His authority contains no hint that the illness was regarded by the Spanish Ambassador as connected in the slightest degree with the scandals, and we knew of no authority except Lingard who advanced any such interpretation. We could not escape the conclusion that once again Lingard was emphasizing his evidence in order to support a cause of which he did not feel sure.

Examination of the remainder of Lingard's case for the prosecution only served to confirm this impression. After the quotation ending with his statement that her assigning to

Dudley "an apartment contiguous to her own bed-chamber : and by this indecent act proved that she was become regardless of her character, and callous to every sense of shame," Lingard goes on to say : " But Dudley, though the most favoured, was not considered as her only lover : among his rivals were numbered Hatton and Raleigh, and Oxford and Blount, and Simier and Anjou " :

CHARGE 4—

"and it was afterwards believed that her licentious habits survived, even when the fires of wantonness had been quenched by the chill of age. The court imitated the manners of the sovereign. It was a place in which, according to Faunt, 'all enormities reigned in the highest degree,' or according to Harrington, 'where there was no love, but that of the lusty god of gallantry, Asmodeus.' "

The only authorities given for any of these statements appear in the last sentence, and in a footnote offered to support the belief that "her licentious habits survived, even when the fires of wantonness had been quenched by the chill of age." That footnote merely says :

"Osborn, Memoirs, 33," referring to Francis Osborne, who was ten years of age when Elizabeth died. Osborne says at the point indicated : "[The duel between Essex and Blunt] grew from the stock of honour of which then they were very tender, and some mean expressions Essex used of Blunt, about his being employed in Ireland, and not her amorous caresses, which age and in a manner an universal distribution of them had by this time rendered tedious if not loathsome ; intimated in a most modest expression uttered in my hearing by Sir Walter Rawley, none of her least respected servants, who upon some discourse of the Duke of Buckingham, said to this purpose, That Minions were not so happy as vulgar judgments thought them, being frequently commanded to uncomely and sometimes unnaturall employments."

This was very poor proof of the Queen's immorality. Nor could we think more of the other authorities quoted by Lingard, which are only three in number, *i.e.* 1. A second letter from Faunt published in Birch, i. 25, from which Lingard quotes

this extract : “ . . . the only discontent I have, is to live where there is so little godliness and exercise of religion, so dissolute manners and corrupt conversation generally, which I find to be worse than when I knew the place first ” (1st August, 1582); 2. That document which we have already quoted Lingard as calling “ the celebrated letter from Mary, in Murdin, 558.”

The epistle referred to is certainly not “ celebrated ” in our understanding of the term, and we very much question if anybody except an historian has read it. It appears in no history, and no biography, and, furthermore, is in the French of the day ; while, so far as we are aware, no English translation has ever appeared.

We take it that the reason for this extraordinary state of affairs—for the letter is the most important ever written by Mary Stuart (if she wrote it) from the point of view of self-revelation—is only another illustration of that national modesty to which we have already referred ; which permits, for example, Lingard to tell his readers that this letter is strong proof of Elizabeth’s lightness, while at the same time he finds the contents too plain-spoken for him to quote. No true inquiry into a matter like this can be conducted upon any such lines.

It can be no more immodest, nor immoral, to set forth verbatim the letter relied on to prove her lightness, than to assert her guilt on the strength of that document, without printing it. Elizabeth has had to suffer more than three centuries of such innuendo. She could with all propriety demand to-day that the entire evidence be published.

We propose to do just that. We believe that that modesty which has permitted the world at large to judge Elizabeth guilty either upon *ex-parte* statements, or in ignorance of the testimony for her defence, will do her the justice to read *all* the documents—not only those *for* her but those *against* her. We submit that so much is due to the woman who founded the British Empire—and she has a *right* to demand at least this much from her countrymen, who have been her chief detractors.

We now present the Scandal Letter exactly as it was written, translating it into our own tongue. We have compared it with the original, which is at Hatfield House, and a facsimile of part of it is herewith reproduced.

It should be borne in mind that Lingard says of it, as

already quoted, "almost every statement in it has been confirmed by other documents"; a dictum which must be construed as his contention that he accepts the accusations which it contains as true, although he goes no further in asserting this *in so many words*. His entire treatment of the letter, however, admits of no other supposition. The capitalization and other punctuation in our translation come as near to that of the original as we can determine. Labanoff* has seen fit to amend the original by employing proper capitals, stops, and paragraphs. He has even altogether changed the first word, supplying an addressee where none appeared in the copy. The version in Murdin has also been extensively altered in capitals and punctuation, and is otherwise incorrect. Labanoff dates the letter in 1584. Murdin gives it as of 1586.

CHARGE 5—

"According to what I promised you and you have since desired I declare to you now with regret that such things should be brought into question but very sincerely and without any anger which I call my God to witness that the countess of Schrewsbury said to me about you what follows as nearly as possible in these terms to the greater part of which I protest that I answered rebuking the said lady for believing or speaking so licentiously of you as a thing which I did not at all believe and do not now believe knowing the disposition of the Countess and by what spirit she was then urged on against you : Firstly that one to whom she said you had made a promise of marriage before a lady of your chamber had lain many times with you with all the licence and familiarity which husband and wife can use to one another But that undoubtedly you were not as other women and for this reason all those who desired your marriage with the duke of anjou, considering that it could not be consummated were foolish and that you would never wish to lose the liberty of making love and gratifying yourself with new lovers regretting this said she that you would not content yourself with master haton and another of this Kingdom but on account of the honour of the country that which vexed her the most was that you had not only compromised your honour with a foreigner named Simier going to find him at night in the chamber of a lady whom the said Countess greatly blamed in this affair, where you kissed him and indulged in divers

* *Lettres de Marie Stuart*, Prince Labanoff, tome 6, p. 50.

unseemly familiarities with him But also you revealed to him the secrets of the Kingdom betraying your own Counsellors to him. That you had disported yourself with the same dissoluteness with the Duke his master who had been to find you one night at the door of your chamber where you had met him with only your nightdress and dressing gown on and that afterwards you had let him enter and that he remained with you nearly three hours. As for the said haton that you ran him hard showing so publicly the love that you bore him that he himself was constrained to withdraw from it and that you gave a box on the ear to kiligrew for not having brought back the said haton to you after he had been sent to recall him having departed in anger from you for some insulting words you had said to him because of certain gold buttons which he had on his coat. That she had worked to bring about a marriage between the said haton and the late countess of lennox her daughter but that for fear of you he dared not consent that even the count of Oxfort dared not reconcile himself with his wife for fear of losing the favour which he hoped to receive by becoming your lover That you were lavish towards all such people and those who lent themselves to such practices As to one of your chamber Gorge to whom you had given three hundred pounds a year for having brought you the news of the return of halton that to all others you were very ungrateful and niggardly and that there were only three or four in your kingdom to whom you had ever been generous advising Me while laughing unrestrainedly to place my son in the ranks of your lovers as a thing that would be of very great advantage to me and would put Monsieur the duke out of the running in which he would be very disadvantageous to me if he continued And answering to her that that would be taken for unfeigned mockery she replied to me that you were as vain and thought as highly of your beauty as if you were a goddess of heaven that she would become responsible for making you believe it readily and for receiving my son in that humour. That you took such great pleasure in flatteries beyond all reason that you were told for example that at times one dared not look full at you because your face shone like the sun that she and all the other ladies of the court were constrained to use such flatteries and that in her last visit to you she and the late Countess of lenox while speaking to you dared not look at one another for fear of bursting out laughing at the tricks she was playing on you begging me on her return to rebuke her daughter whom she had never been able to do the same and as for her daughter talbot she was sure that she would

never fail to laugh in your face the said lady talbot when she went to make her curtesy to you and to take her oath as one of your attendants immediately on her return relating it to me as a thing done in mockery begged me to allow a similar ceremony as she has more feeling and fealty for me which I for a long time refused but in the end influenced by her tears I let her have her way saying that she would not for anything in the world be in your service near your person seeing that she would be afraid that when you were angry you would do to her as you did to her cousin Shedmur whose finger you had broken making those of the court believe that it was a candlestick which had fallen on it and that to another who was serving you at table you had given a violent blow on the hand with a knife and in a word as to these last points and common gossip you were played and imitated by them as in a comedy amongst my women themselves perceiving which I swear to you I forbade my women to take part any more Further the said countess warned me formerly that you wished to order Rolson to make love to me and try to dishonour me either in reality or by evil report about which he had instructions from your own mouth that Ruxby came here about eight years ago to attempt my life after having spoken to you who had told him that he should do what Walsingham would command and direct him : When the said Countess was promoting the marriage of her son Charles with one of the nieces of Lord Paget and you on the other hand wished to keep him by complete and absolute authority for one of the Knoles because he was related to you she complained bitterly against you and said that it was nothing but tyranny your wishing at your caprice to carry off all the heiresses of the country and that you had treated the said paget disgracefully with insulting words but that finally the nobility of this kingdom would not permit it to be repeated to the same degree if you addressed yourself to certain others whom she knew well : About four or five years ago when you and she were ill at about the same time she told me that your malady came from the closing of a fistula that you had in one leg. and that no doubt losing your monthly period you would very soon die rejoicing in a vain fancy which she has long had through the predictions of a certain Jon Lenton ; and of an old book which predicted your death by violence and the succession of another Queen whom she interpreted to be me regretting only that by the said book it was predicted that the Queen who would succeed you would reign only three years and would die like you by violence which was represented in a painting in the said book In which there

was a last leaf the contents of which she never would tell me. She herself knows that I have always held this as pure folly but she laid her plans well to be the first of those about me and even that my son should marry my niece arbela to end with I swear to you once more on my faith and honour that what is above is quite true and that as to what concerns your honour it has never come into my mind to wrong you by revealing it and that it will never be known through me holding it as quite false If I can have that good fortune of speaking with you I will tell you more particularly the names times places and other circumstances to let you know the truth both about this and about other things which I reserve when I am quite assured of your friendship which as I desire more than ever also if I can this time obtain it you never had relative friend nor even subject more faithful and loving than I shall be to you For God be certain of her who wishes to serve you and can do so from my bed compelling my arm and my sufferings to satisfy and obey you

MARIE R."

Lingard's final accusation is that contained in his Note (EE) at the close of his volume, wherein he says that there is at Simancas "an account of a supposed son of Elizabeth and Leicester." This note reads as follows :

CHARGE 6—

" Though it was frequently reported that the queen had borne children to Leicester, the only individual known to have appeared publicly in that character was an Englishman at Madrid, who assumed the name of Arthur Dudley. Mr. Ellis has published a letter about him from an English spy to Lord Burghley, written on May 28, 1588.—Ellis, 2nd Ser. iii. 136. I may add a few more particulars, gleaned from the documents preserved at Simancas.

" This adventurer arrived at Madrid about the end of 1586, and pretended that he was going to perform a vow at Montserrat ; but some jealousy was excited respecting him by his frequent visits to the French ambassador. When the news arrived of the execution of Mary queen of Scots, he disappeared, but was taken at Pasage, as he attempted to escape to a ship at a small distance from that port. In consequence of his answers before the governor of Guispuscoa, he was sent to Madrid, where he received an order to write an account of himself in

English. On the 17th of June, 1587, this memoir was translated into Spanish by Sir Francis Englefield, who informed Philip that it contained ‘*el discurso de su education, y los argumentos, y razones que le han enducido a tenerse y llamarse hijo de la reyna.*’ (An account of his education, with the reasons and arguments which have led him to believe that he is the son of the Queen.—F. C.) The English original cannot be found, but the Spanish translation states that he (Arthur Dudley) is the reputed son of Robert Sotheron, once a servant of Mrs. Ashley, residing at Evesham, in Worcestershire. By order of Mrs. Ashley, Sotheron went to Hampton Court, where he was met by N. Haryngton, and told by her that a lady at court had been delivered of a child, that the queen was desirous to conceal her dishonour, and that Mrs. Ashley wished him to provide a nurse for it, and to take it under his care. Being led into the gallery near the royal closet, he received the infant from her with directions to call it Arthur, intrusted it to the wife of the miller at Moulsey on the opposite bank of the Thames, and afterwards conveyed it to his own house. Some years later Sotheron conducted the boy to a school in London: thence he was sent to travel on the continent, and in 1583 he returned to his reputed father at Evesham. He now concluded that there was some mystery respecting his birth, from the different manner in which he and his supposed brothers and sisters had been educated, but could not draw the secret from Sotheron till a few days before the old man’s death; when he learned from him that he was the son of Queen Elizabeth and of the earl of Leicester. He then consulted Sir John Ashley and Sir Drew Drury, who advised him to keep it secret, and to return to the continent. This he had done; but not before he had obtained an interview with the secretary of Leicester, and afterwards with Leicester himself. What passed between him and Leicester is not stated; but that Philip did not consider him an imposter, appears from this, that we find him, even a year after his apprehension, treated as a person of distinction, being ‘very solemnly warded and served, with an expense to the king of vi crownes (almost £2) a daye. He was of xxvii yeares of age or thereabout.’—Ellis, *ibid.*”

The above is not a fair *résumé* of the Simancas documents respecting this incident, being, as it stands, a much stronger accusation than any that they warrant; but we leave the incident for the present, with the observation that every word in Spain

or elsewhere relating to this Charge is quoted in note 5 of the Appendix.

All of this foregoing was, to our mind, whether considered in detail or *en bloc*, very questionable, regarded as proof of the Queen's immorality; and if Lingard, of all men, encouraged and assisted as we shall see by every Catholic in Christendom, after a lifetime of endeavour to besmirch Elizabeth, had in the end no more convincing accusations than these to offer, there was much need for original research into the real facts. This is the story of the germination of this volume.

We may now proceed to cite all the evidence which, with the foregoing six charges adduced by Lingard—all others are classified as Indirect Charges—can be classified as Direct Charges by *contemporaries* of the Great Queen; for, of course, if she be convicted at all, it must be upon such a showing. No other testimony is of the slightest value. Opinions which are not contemporaneous, or are based upon scantier information than is to be found in this volume, are apocryphal.

It may be that we have been unable to include every contemporaneous direct charge. We can say, however, that we have made every endeavour to do so, and that no other historical work in the bibliography of Elizabeth contains so many attacks upon her as does this one—and no other contains any direct charge which will not be found herein. If any fresh imputations arise, they must come from sources now unknown to scholars.

It must be observed that, for over four centuries, every Catholic has been intensely desirous of presenting conclusive evidence that Elizabeth was immoral. No other Protestant who has ever lived, has been or is—and, be it admitted, with such sound cause—so anathematized by the Catholics—and all that they (to make no mention of others) can produce against Elizabeth in addition to the above six accusations are the following contemporary allusions, arranged, as far as may be, in chronological order. In this Chapter we shall do no more than so to state these various criminations, in order that the reader may be freed from any exterior influence. We believe this to be the fairest and most satisfactory method of presenting the entire problem to the reader, for we feel that he is entitled to such a bald statement of the entire question

at issue. We are of the opinion that with the evidence itself before him, he is as competent as anybody to reach a true verdict, and that in these days no public will accept the *dicta* of anybody upon anything. The present generation—and much more so that to come—must be shown all the evidence supporting any theory or contention before it will accept it. In meeting this requirement, some repetition will now and then be necessary, but we believe that that is more than compensated by additional clarity.

CHARGE 7—

“The last few days Lord Robert has come so much into favour that he does whatever he likes with affairs and it is even said that her Majesty visits him in his chamber day and night.” —Count de Feria to Philip, 18th of April, 1559, from London. *Cal. S. P.*, *Simancas*, vol. i. p. 55.

CHARGE 8—

The papers upon which this accusation is apparently based constitute the record of one among several prosecutions by the legal authorities of persons who slandered the Queen. These prosecutions would appear to be eight in number, seven of which we discuss. The papers of the remaining one are undiscoverable, but there seems to be no reason to suspect that it differs in character from those we are able to detail. Since these prosecutions have been brought forward by Elizabeth's detractors as so many evidences of her guilt—but *never* with the documents themselves—we cannot escape presenting here and under Charges 10 and 11 hereafter the exact records; but even their most cursory examination, fortunately, will reveal their lack of foundation, so the reader may run through them quickly.

“After our most hartie commendacions, you shall receyve herein enclosed the examynacions of certen persones of this Shire of Essex, towching wordes spoken and spreade abroad here against the Quenes Majestie. The pryncypall offender and rayser whereof, whoes name ys Anne Dove, as we perceyve by the examinacion, we have committed to the comen gayle of the Shyre, and such other as she hath accused, who in our opynyons are not culpable therein, we have, neverthelesse,

put under suerties to be ffourth commynge to aunswere thereunto at all tymes. And although by specyall statute lawe made in that parte we mought procede both to thenquyre and also to the tryall of suche malefactors, yet forasmuche as we understodde of the commynge downe this waye of the Lorde Keeper of the broade Seale, and specyallye for that the wordes moche touched her Majesties honor, whiche wordes we thought not mette to be devulged amongst the comen people no further to procede untill we had eyther spoken with his lordeship therein or geven advertysement thereof to her Maiesties most honorable councell. And his Lordeshipp at his commynge understandinge by us the state therof and lykinge well our opynyons for the staye of our procedinge, accordinge to the lawe, advised us to wright unto you specyallye herein, so as uppon your consideracion and the rest of her Maiesties mose honorable councell, order mought be geven for her punyschement, whiche as well his Lordeshipp as we wolde wyshe rather for dyverse respectes to be by order from her Maiesties councell then by thexecucion of the saied statute, by some letter, comprysinge generall wordes of slaunder of the Quenes Majestie without recytinge any specyall cause. And yet yf yt shall seeme to their honors and yow that tryall shalbe herein hadd, accordinge to the lawe, uppon their pleasures therein knowen, whiche we desire may be knowen to us with such expedicion as shall seeme to them convenyent, we will be redye with dyligence to see the same accomplysshed and donne accordinglye. And so levinge any further to trouble yow at this tyme, we commytte yow to God, ffrom Lyes this XIIIth of this August 1560.

“Your owne most assuredlye

“R. RYCHE

“THO. MILDMAY.”

XVII^{mo} die Julii anno secundo
Regine nostre Elizabeth.

Essex.—The saying of Anne Dowe of Burndwood wydew of thage of threscore and eight yeres examyned before Thomas Myldmay esquire one of the quenes Majesties Justices of the peace within the sayd Countie as followeth

ffyrst she sayeth that abowte fyve weykes last past she was att Rocheford, and there being in the howse of one [blank in MS.] dwelling uppon Rocheford grene beyond the parsonage, the wyffe of the saide howse sayed openly in the presens of this examynat and others there being that Dudley hadd given

the quene a new petycote which cost twentie nobles. To which womman this examynat sayd the quene hadd no nede of his cotte for she was able to by one her self. Item she sayeth further that within three dayes then next after she went out of the sayd towne, and in a Bromefelde within the same paryshe she mett with one M^r Coke rydyng uppon a horse, And at their meting to gether the sayd Mr Coke asked her and sayd, what newes mother Dow, and she sayd that she new no other newes but that she sayd a woman told her that Dudley hadd geven the quene a new petycote thatt cost twente nobles. And the sayd Coke sayd to the sayd examynat, thynkes thou that is was a petiecote no no he gave her a chylde I warrant the. And the sayd Coke havynge a botell of wyne att his saddle bowe gave her drynke of the sayd bottell and so they departyd.

Item she further sayth that she commyng to Dombery the syxtene daye of July passyng through the strete of the same towne came to the howse of John Kyng taylour, and there before hym and his wyffe sayd that she herd newes but a body may say nothing, neverthelesse she sayd she herd saye that Dudley hadd yeven the quene a new petycot that bothe he and she should rewe, and so departyd tyll she was aprehendyd by the sheryff dwellyng within the sayd towne of Donbery,

John Kyng of Danbye aforesayd examyned sayth that the syxtene daye of July aforesayd abowt eight of the clock in the fore none of the same daye one mother Dowe of Brentwood came unto his shopp when he was syttyng att his worke, and sayd there was thinges now adayes that she might say nothing of. Why so quod this examynate. Mary sayth she, there is one now they call hym Dudley that beareth more Rome then ever dyd his father, ffor sayd the sayd mother Dow we hadd a quene whose name was Elizabeth, soo have we styll quod this examynat as I trust, then she sayd that Dudley and the quene hadd playd by legerdemayne to gether, that is not so sayd this examynat, is quod she for he hathe geven her a chylde, why quod this examynat she hathe no chylde yett, no sayd Mother Dow if she have nott he hath putt one to makynge, and that greter fooles then he or she dyd talke of that matter. And thereuppon he badd her hold her pece for althowgh she was dronke as he then thought she was, she woold repent her wordes hereafter and so he left her.

per THO. MILDMAY.

[The Rocheford woman mentioned being examined, denied having spoken the slanderous words or having heard them spoken at any time. She admitted that "Anne Dove" came to her house and mended a fan, for which she was paid 9*d*.]

XVIII^{mo} die Julii anno secundo
domine Elizabeth Regine nunc.

The sayng of Betterys Kyng the wyffe of (*sic*) John Kyng taylour examyned as followeth ffyrst she sayth that the syxtene day of July abought eight of the Clock in the fore none of the same daye one Mother Dow of Brentwood came unto the (*sic*) shopp of the sayd Kyng, he sythyng att his worke, and sayd there be thinges now adayes but we may say nothing, why so quod the sayed King, Mary quod she, there is a Dudley which bereth more Rule then ever dyd his father and that shall bothe thow and I rew, why so quod the sayd Kyng, taked heed what thou sayest, yes quod she, he hathe geven the quene a petycot And they too have played legerdemayne, why so quod the sayd Kyng, Marye quod she, he hathe geven here a chyld, nay sayd Kyng she hathe no chyld yett, no quod she, they have put one to makyng, that is as good, wylt thou byde by that quod Kyng, ye ye quod she, there be greter fooles then thou and I will say so, well quod he (*sic*) take heyd what thou sayst though thou be dronke now thow wylt repent theis words when thow art sober, and so she went her waye, all theis words this examynat satt by and herd as she will Justefye.

Endorsed.—To the right honorable Sir William Cecill knight, Secretarye to the Quenes most excellent Majestie.

And in Cecil's hand

14 Augusti 1560.

L. Rich Sir Tho. Mildmay.

(In different hand and ink):

touching Mother Dowes slanders against the Queene
and L. Robt. Dudley.

(*State Papers Domest. Eliz.* 1547–1580, vol. xiii. No. 21, 21. 1, and 21. 2.)

CHARGE 9—

"After this I had an opportunity of talking to Cecil, who, I understand, was in disgrace; and Robert was trying to turn him out of his place. After exacting many pledges of strict secresy, he said that the Queen was conducting herself in such

a way that he thought of retiring. He said it was a bad sailor who did not enter port if he could when he saw a storm coming on, and he clearly foresaw the ruin of the realm through Robert's intimacy (*y que el vey a la perdicion de la Reyna manifesta causada desta privança de Milor Roberto*) with the Queen, who surrendered all affairs to him, and meant to marry him. He said he did not know how the country put up with it, and he should ask leave to go home, although he thought they would cast him into the Tower first. He ended by begging me in God's name to point out to the Queen the effect of her misconduct (*desórdenes*), and persuade her not to abandon business entirely but to look to her realm; and then he repeated twice over to me that Lord Robert would be better in Paradise than here."—De Quadra to the Duchess of Parma, from London, 11th Sept., 1560. *Cal. S. P., Simancas*, vol. i. p. 174.

CHARGE 10—

"Thexamynacon of John Whyte, barbor, taken by the Mayor of Totnes and his brotherun, the 27th of Februarie Ao 1560, &C.

"The said John Whyte saieth that the daie and yeare aforesaid being in the howse of one John Leche in Totnes, and then and there being in compaignie in the same howse one John Saiger, shomaker, the said John Leche and one Robert Hendley, servant to the said Leche, the said Whight reported and said that Thomas Burley, knowen by the name of the drunken Burley, hadde said to hym in his own howse that the Lord Robert Dudley dyd swyve the Queene, etc." (All parties were bound over to the next sessions at Exeter. Endorsed by Cecil "Drunken burlegh of Totness, Februar, 1560." The foregoing is all the record that can be found of this incident.—F. C.).—*Hat. Cal.* Pt. I, p. 277, § 821, 27th Feb. 1561, N. S.

CHARGE 11—

a. "Our duties in humble maner promised, thies maye be to advertise your honours that whereas at our nowe beinge at Salisburie, at the Assises, there was presented unto us, by ten Justices of the peace of the said Countie, certayne examynations concerninge most odious and faulse slannderous tales against the Quenes majestie, the copie whereof you shall receyve here enclosed. . . . [We] have committed the offenders to the Gayle, there to be and remayne, untill they receyve

punishment for their said faultes as by your letre pf annswere hereof the said Justices shall be directed . . . ffrom Salisbury the Xth daye of this present monethe of Julye ao 1563.

Your honours humble
to comannde

RYCHARD WESTON

RYCHARD HARPUR.

(Justice Weston & Sgtpeace Harpur, to ye Lords of ye Queens privy Councel, from ye Assizes)—B.M., Harl. 6990, fol. 49.

b. "The Declaracon of Barthelmewe Auger, baylye of husbondry, and serjennte to Mr. Berwike before John Enneley and John Berwike in the Countie of Wiltshire Esquiers the sixth of June in the fyfte yere of the Raighn of our most dreade soveraign Ladye Elyzabeth. . . .

"The sayd Barthelmewe sayethe that vppon thursdaye the xviiith of this moneth he was at the Devyzes market about his m^{rs} busynes, and theare dyd sett his horses at one Robte Brookes howse, wheare he dothe comonly vse to hoste, and abouth three of the clocke in the afternone of the same daye the sayd Robte Broke declared, and sayed to hym this wordes followinge in the psence of Peter Stronngge of maningford bruece and others to hym onknownen (viz) what newes doe yo^u heare/ he answered/ what newse sholde wee heare/ he sayd agayne/ doth yo/ M^r heare no newes from London. he answered and sayd no/ what newes sholde he heare/. whearuppon he sayd, saye nothinge, it ys sayd my lorde Robte ys fled owte of the realme/ he answered why so? Then sayd Robte Brooke, saye nothinge/ hit ys tolde me that he hathe gotten the quene wth childe, and therefore he ys fled/ and so ended, no wordes, saye nothinge/ And farther the sayd Robte Brooke sayd, yf yo^r m^r dyd knowe yt, he wolde make another maner of sturre/ and so they pted

JOHN ERNELE

JOHN BERWYKE

The sayd Peter Stronge, beinge examyned before the said John Ernele and John Barwike, doth confesse and affyrme all and euy thinge as Barthelmewe Anger before hathe sayd

Theexamynacon of Robte Brooke, at beryffylde, of the Devizes taken before vs the sayd John Ernele, and John Barwike the xxth of June.

The sayd Robte Brooke confesseth all the sayd woordes

and talke betwen hym and Bartholomewe Anger, aforesayd, but he sayethe, he harde the same, and yt was declared vnto hym on wensdaye the xviiith of this moneth by one [] wykes, dwellinge at Rowde in the sayd Countie of Wiltes^e, at the Devizes in the sayd Brookes howse

JOHN ERNELE
JOHN BERWYKE

The examynacoñ of Wyllm wikes,
taken the xxth of June before
vs John Ernele and John Barwike,
&c.

Wiltes^{es}. —Jtm, he sayeth that the xviiith of this moneth of June he was at the Devizes at Brookes house/ and ther declared vnto hym, that hit was spoken in a place wher he lately was/ that my lorde Robte was fledde oute of the Realme, and that he had gotten the quene wth childe. And that hit was tyme he were gone, yf yt weare so./ And farder sayeth, that he harde this talke at a place, wher he was, appon tryntyie sonndaye, neare vnto Romsey/ And the man he dothe well knowe and his dwellinge howse, but his name he knoweth not, vntyll he have inquyered farther.

contra forma statut
a^o p^{mo} et sedo
Phⁱ et Marie Cap^o iii^{cio}

JOHN ERNELE
JOHN BERWYKE

(B.M., Harl. 6990 fol. 49 *et seq.*)

CHARGE 12—

While urging the marriage of Elizabeth with the Archduke Charles of Austria, the Spanish Ambassador de Silva writes :

“ I also pointed out to her how many important friends and connections she would gain by such a marriage, to which she answered, ‘ I quite understand how much the King wishes me to marry the Archduke if I marry outside of my own country.’ I only replied that Your Majesty considered him as your own son, without referring to her remark about marrying outside the kingdom, as I understand her object was simply to keep Leicester’s matter afoot. It is generally agreed that the Queen will never marry him, and that he himself is well aware of it and has abandoned hope, yet nevertheless I do not think they are quite certain, because when I was pressing her to announce her decision on the Archduke’s matter she said ‘ How can I take such a step as you say, for if after all the Archduke should not consent it will look as if I was obliged to marry whoever

would have me, he having rejected me, and this is a very delicate thing for a husband.' By this she meant that her marriage with him (Leicester) would be looked upon rather as a matter of necessity than of choice, and I could well believe it would be so if what the French Ambassador swore to me were true, namely, that he had been assured by a person who was in a position to know that he (Leicester) had passed New Year's night with the Queen. The author, however, is a Frenchman, and so strongly adverse to the Archduke's marriage, that he cannot conceal it, and even, as I am told by a person of position, informed the Queen and her Council that if the match were carried through it would interrupt the friendship with his King, as it would indicate a complete surrender to the house of Austria and Bergundy, and an identification with the interests of your Majesty with whom his King could not maintain perpetual peace."—De Silva to Philip, 4th Feb., 1566, from London. *Cal. S. P.*, vol. i. p. 517

CHARGE 13—

"Thei had set out a proclamation, and had iiii provisies; one was touching the wantenes of the Court, . . . There was meny in troble for speaking of seditious wordes. Thomas Sicell sayd that . . . his cosen Sicell was the Quene's darling, who was the cause of the Duke of Norfolke's imprisonment. . . . Metcalfe said he wolde helpe the Duke of Alva into Yermouthe, and to washe his handes in the Protestantes' bloud. Marshame said that my Lord of Leicester had ii childerne by the Quene; and for that he is condemned to lowse bothe his eares, or ells pay a c li presently. Chipline said he hoped to see the Duke of Norfolke to be King before Mihelmas next; . . ."—Letter from an unknown from London "the last of August, 1570," to the Countess of Shrewsbury, giving particulars of the recent rebellion headed by Appleyerde, Througmorton, Redman et als. Lodge's *Illust.* vol. ii. ed. 1791, p. 47.

CHARGE 14—

Deposition of Kenelme Berneye. One inquiry submitted to him was: "What evill Speeches used he (Mather.—F. C.) of the Queene's Majestie, and upon what Occasion, in what Place, and when?" The reply is:

" . . . he (Mather.—F. C.) . . . sayd, That yf she (Elizabeth.—F. C.) weare not kylled, or made awaye, ther was

no Waye but Deathe with the Duke (Norfolk, who was soon beheaded.—F. C.) ; and what Pyttye weare yt, sayd he, that so noble a Man as he should dye now in so vyle a Woman her Dayes, that desyrethe nothings but to fede her owne lewd Fantasye, and to cut off such of her Nobylite, as weare not perfumed, and courtelyeke to please her delycate Eye, and place suche as weare for her Tourne, meaning Daunsers, and meaning you, my Lord of Leicester, and one Mr. Hatten, whom he sayd had more Recourse unto her Majestie in her Pryvye Chamber, than Reason would suffre, yf she weare so vertuose and well inclined, as some naysythe (maketh ?) her ; with other suche vyle Words as I ame ashamed to speake, much more to wrytt ; but when yt shalbe my Chaunce ageyne to wayte upon your Lordship, I wyll imparte yt unto your Lordships bothe . . . he followed me contynewally everye Nyght, as yt weare a Man madd or lunnytycke, sayeing, His Mynd was troubled, sometimes speakeinge of the Duke, sometymes of my Lord Burleyghe.”—Murdin, p. 203, 29th Jan., 1572.

CHARGE 15—

“ For a certain person was taken at Dover, who had used very dangerous speeches concerning a massacre to be shortly in England, and most malicious and shameful words against the Queen herself. As, that the Earl of Leicester, and Mr. Hatton, should be such towards her, as the matter was so horrible, that the examiners would not write down the words. I cite this relation from the very words of a letter from the Archbishop. By the way, hence it may appear that the Papists first put abroad that infamous report of that excellent Queen’s too much familiarity with some of her subjects : which nowadays is become almost credited by many unwary Protestants.”—Strype, *Life of Matthew Parker*, vol. ii. p. 127, referring to 1572. Parker to Burghley.

CHARGE 16—

(a) “ To come to the point, my son (Anjou) has let me know by the King that he never wishes to marry her (Elizabeth.—F. C.) even if she wishes it ; so much has he heard against her honour, and seen of it in the letters of all the ambassadors who have been there (In England.—F. C.) that he considers he would be dishonoured and lose all the reputation he thinks he had acquired.”—Catherine de Medici, to Fénélon, the French Ambassador in London, 2nd Feb., 1571.

(b) "I bare him (Anjou) in hand (for it grieved me not a little, and the King, my Son, as you know) that of all evil rumours and tales of naughty persons, such as would break the matter, and were spread abroad of the Queen, that those he did believe and that made him so backward;"—Catherine de Medici to Walsingham and Smith. Sir Thomas Smith from Paris to Burleigh, 22nd March, 1572. Digges, *Comp. Ambass.*, p. 193.

CHARGE 17—

Mr. Dyer to Mr. Hatton

"Sir, After my departure from you, thinking upon your case as my dear friend, I thought good to lay before you mine opinion in writing somewhat more at large than at my last conference I did speak. . . . First of all, you must consider with whom you have to deal, and what we be towards her; who though she do descend very much in her sex as a woman, yet we may not forget her place, and the nature of it as our Sovereign. Now if a man, of secret cause known to himself, might in common reason challenge it, yet if the Queen mislike thereof, the world followeth the sway of her inclination; and never fall they in consideration of reason, as between private persons they do. And if it be after that rate for the most part in causes that may be justified, then much more will it be so in causes not to be avouched. A thing to be had in regard; for it is not good for any man straitly to weigh a general disallowance of her doings.

"That the Queen will mislike of such a course, this is my reason: she will imagine that you go about to imprison her fancy, and to warp her grace within your disposition; and that will breed despite and hatred in her towards you: and so you may be cast forth to the malice of every envious person, flatterer, and enemy of yours; out of which you shall never recover yourself clearly, neither your friends, so long as they show themselves your friends.

"But if you will make a proof (*par ver vramo*, as Spanish phrase is) to see how the Queen and he will yield to it, and it prosper, go through withal; if not, to change your course suddenly into another more agreeable to her Majesty, I can like indifferently of that. But then you must observe this, that it be upon a by-occasion, for else it were not convenient for divers reasons that you cannot but think upon.

"But the best and soundest way in mine opinion is, to put

on another mind ; to use your suits towards her Majesty in words, behaviour, and deeds ; to acknowledge your duty, declaring the reverence which in heart you bear, and never seem deeply to condemn her frailties, but rather joyfully to commend such things as should be in her, as though they were in her indeed ; hating my Lord of Ctm in the Queen's understanding for affection's sake, and blaming him openly for seeking the Queen's favour. For though in the beginning when her Majesty sought you (after her good manner), she did bear with rugged dealing of yours, until she had what she fancied, yet now, after satiety and fulness, it will rather hurt than help you ; whereas, behaving yourself as I said before, your place shall keep you in worship, your presence in favour, your followers will stand to you, at the least you shall have no bold enemies, and you shall dwell in the ways to take all advantages wisely, and honestly to serve your turn at times. Marry thus much I would advise you to remember, that you use no words of disgrace or reproach towards him to any ; that he, being the less provoked, may sleep, thinking all safe, while you do awake and attend your advantages.

“ Otherwise you shall, as it were, warden him and keep him in order ; and he will make the Queen think that he beareth all for her sake, which will be as a merit in her sight ; and the pursuing of his revenge shall be just in all men's opinions, by what means soever he and his friends shall ever be able.

“ You may perchance be advised and encouraged to the other way by some kind of friends that will be glad to see whether the Queen will make an apple or a crab of you, which, as they find, will deal accordingly with you ; following if fortune be good ; if not, leave, and go to your enemy : for such kind of friends have no commodity by hanging in suspense, but set you a fire to do off or on—all is one to them ; rather liking to have you in any extremity than in any good mean.

“ But beware not too late of such friends, and of such as make themselves glewe between them and you, whether it be of ignorance or practice. Well, not to trouble you any further, it is very necessary for you to impart the effect of this with your best and most accounted friends, and most worthy to be so ; for then you shall have their assistance every way ; who, being made privy of your council, will and ought in honour to be partners of your fortune, which God grant to be of the best. The 9th of October 1572. Your assured poor friend to command,

“ EDW. DYER.”

Harl. MSS., 787, fol. 88, Brit. Mus. (Hereafter we often refer to this as the Dyer-Hatton Letter.—F. C.)

CHARGE 18—

“ If I could express my feelings of your gracious letters, I should utter unto you matter of strange effect. In reading of them, with my tears I blot them. . . . Death had been much more my advantage than to win health and life by so loathsome a pilgrimage . . . Madam, I find the greatest lack that ever poor wretch sustained. No death, no, not hell, no fear of death shall ever win of me my consent so far to wrong myself again as to be absent from you one day. God grant my return. I will perform this vow. I lack that I live by. . . . My spirit and soul (I feel) agreeth with my body and life, that to serve you is a heaven, but to lack you is more than hell’s torment unto them. My heart is full of woe . . . I will wash away the faults of these letters with the drops from your poor Lydds and so inclose them. Would God I were with you but for one hour. My wits are overwrought with thoughts. I find myself amazed. Bear with me, my most dear sweet Lady. Passion overcometh me. I can write no more. Love me; for I love you. God, I beseech thee witness the same on the behalf of thy poor servant. Live for ever. Shall I utter this familiar term (farewell)? yea, ten thousand thousand farewells. He speaketh it that most dearly loveth you. . . . June 5, 1573.

“ Your bondman everlastingly tied.

“ CH. HATTON.”

Nicolas, *Life of Hatton*, p. 25.

CHARGE 19—

“ Document headed ‘ Substance of Letters from Antonio de Guaras from London, 12th, 19th, and 26th December, 1574 and 1st January, 1575 . . . ’ :

“ The queen of Scots has also been ordered to be brought to the Tower of London . . . the object being to obtain possession of the Prince (James.—F. C.) if possible, and put an end both to him and his mother. They would then raise to power the son of the earl of Hertford whom they would marry to a daughter of Leicester and the queen of England, who it is said, is kept hidden, although there are bishops to witness that she is legitimate. They think this will shut the door to all other claimants. This intrigue is said to be arranged very secretly.”—Dec., 1574. *Cal. S. P., Simancas*, vol. ii. p. 491.

CHARGE 20—

“ I am assured that he (The English Ambassador.—F. C.) has let it be known that the pretended Queen (Elizabeth.—F. C.) has a daughter thirteen years of age, and that she would bestow her in marriage on some one acceptable to his Catholic Majesty. I have heard talk before of this daughter, but the English here say they know nought of such a matter.”—Nicholas Ormanetto, Bishop of Padua, Nuncio in Spain, to Ptolemy Galli, Cardinal of Como, from Madrid 9 Dec., 1575; *Vat. Arch. Nunt. di Spagna*, vol. viii. fol. 601.

CHARGE 21—

“ Roger ffawnes talke had with me John Guntor uppon Christma Day & St. Stephins day . . . of December 1578.

“ . . . he (Fawne.—F. C.) hard his master saye . . . he wold be the first man himself that with his owne hande wold dispatche my L. Treasurer, and diverse oother vile wordes he hard his master at (that ?) tyme speak of the Queene and of the Cownsell, as that her Grace was very unmete to gouverne, and that she was a dronckard and a naughtie woman of her bodie, with such odious wordes as his eares did ake to here. . . . This was spoken about that tyme he laye at Mr. Comptrollers which he reconeth to be 4 or 5 yeres past, or thereabouts.

“ Itm. he sayde that John Pynnock sayde to him, that when the Queenes majestie was at Wilton last, his master . . . sayde unto him that the Queene was once mynded to ryde a hunting, but after dynner she was so dronck, that she could not ryde, and much more talke he had at that tyme with the sayd Pynnock, as towching her majestie & Cownsell.”—*Information of John Guntor*, Brit. Mus. Lansd. MS. 29. (The entire record of the proceedings is in the Appendix, note 7. It shows that many others besides Elizabeth were attacked by the accused with crimes, from forgery to murder and burning.)

CHARGE 22—

All that we are able to learn of this Charge is to be found in the accusations brought forward by Mr. Walter Rye, who says in his pamphlet * “ . . . about the same time (1578), Francis Edderman of Chester is reported to have said that ‘ the Earl had two children by the Queen.’ ” This pamphlet appeared in

* *The Murder of Amy Robsart*, by Walter Rye, London, Elliot Stock, 1885, pp. 31-2.

1885, and it unfortunately cites no authority for the words, and it is not surprising that when appealed to nearly thirty-five years later for the missing citation Mr. Rye finds that it has escaped him. As he says no more in his work than we have already quoted of this incident, we may, it would appear, safely treat it as no more important than the other seven prosecutions for slander which we have detailed.

CHARGE 23—

“ In conversation likewise recently with the French Ambassador, she set forth the many reasons which would force her to marry, whereupon he replied that, besides the reasons she stated, she had forgotten one, which was of more importance than any, namely, that it was said that he (Alençon) had had illicit relations with her. She replied that she could disregard such a rumour, to which he answered that she might well do so in her own country, but not elsewhere, where it had been publicly stated. She was extremely angry, and retorted that a clear and innocent conscience feared nothing, and that the letters which Alençon had written to his brother and his mother were written before the existence of the rumour, which she would silence by marrying.”—de Mendoza to the King of Spain, from London, 26 April, 1582. *Cal. S. P., Simancas*, vol. iii., at p. 348.

CHARGE 24—

“ . . . when she (Elizabeth.—F. C.) is abroad nobody is near her but my Lord of Essex, and at night my Lord is at cards, or at one game or another with her, that he cometh not to his own lodging till bird sing in the morning.”—Anthony Bagot to his father Richard Bagot, *Hist. MSS. Comm.* Report 4, b. of p. 337, 2nd col., with date offered as of 1581 or 1587.

CHARGE 25—

“ . . . she (Elizabeth.—F. C.) hath exalted one special extortioner, whom she tooke up first of a Traitor & worse then naughte, only to serve her filthy luste, wherof to have the more fredom and intrest ; he (as may be presumed, by her consent) caused his owne wife cruelly to be murdered, as afterwarde for the accomplishment of his like brutishe pleasures with an other noble dame it is openly knowne he made awaie her husband ; who now of an amorous minion advaunsed to highe

office, degree, & excessive welthe, is becum her cheife leader in all her wicked and unwonted course of regiment . . . livinge only of briberie, spoile, and roberie. . . .

“With the forsaid person and divers others she hathe abused her bodie, against Gods lawes, to the disgrace of princely maiestie & the whole nations reproche, by unspeakable and incredible variety of luste, which modesty suffereth not to be remembred, neyther were it to chaste eares to be uttered how shamefully she hath defiled and infamed her person and cuntry, and made her Courte as a trappe, by this damnable and detestable arte, to intangle in sinne and overthrowe the yonger sorte of the nobilitie and gentlemen of the lande, whereby she is become notorious to the worlde, & in other cuntries a comon fable for this her turpitude, which in so highe degre namely in a woman and a Queene, deservethe not onelie deposition, but all vengeaunce bothe of God and man, and cannot be tollerated with out the eternal infamie of our whole cuntrie, the whole world deriding our effeminate dastardie that have suffred suche a creature almost thirtie yeares together, to raigne bothe over our bodies and soules, and to have the cheif regiment of all our affaires aswel spirituall as temporal, to the extinguishinge not onely of religion but of all chaste livinge and honesty.

“She coulede never be restrained from this incontinence thoughthe the principall peers of the realme and others of high authority as deputies from the whole parliament and estates, made humble sute and supplicacion to her, that for pittie and compassion of their desolate case, and of the daunger that the whole realme, and specially the nobility should be in, yf she deceased without lawful issue, in suche a number of competitors of the crowne, she wold therfore marrie and procure (yf yt were Gods pleasure) lawfull heires of her bodie to inherite her dominions after her: to whom sumtimes she merely and mockingly answered, that she wold die a maiden Queene, but afterwards in contempte and rebuke of all the states of the realme, and to the condemnation of chaste and lawfull mariage (wherunto as to a bridle of her licentiousness, she ys enemye), she forced the verie parliament it self to give consent and to provide by a pretended lawe, not tollerable (nor ever I trow hearde of before in a Christian free people) that none should so muche as be named for her sucessor duringe her life, savinge the naturall, that ys to saie bastard borne childe of her owne bodie. A wonderfull thraldome, a lamentable case, that this highe courte of olde so renoumed for fredome and justice, should now be at the devotion of one woman so farr,

as to authorize both her shamefull incontinency & pernicious obstinacy against the honor and good of the whole realme : havinge no cause in the worlde why the next lawfull heire may not better beare the naminge, then her unlawfull longe concealed or fained yssue, saving that yt might be prejudiciall to her private & present peace, which she ever preferreth before the publike. . . .

"She, all this notwithstandinge, in the meane season, as often before and afterward, promised mariage to sum of the nobility at home, makinge many of them in single lyfe to the danger of their soules, and decay of their famelies, to attend her pleasure :"—*Admonition to the Nobility and People of England and Ireland, &c.*, A.D. 1588, pp. xviii. et seq. ; by Cardinal Allen, to be distributed to the people of those countries just before the sailing of the Armada to subdue them, urging them to rise and assist the invaders.

CHARGE 26—

Under this head we comprehend all the remaining accusations that, so far as we can learn, are, or are quoted as being, contemporary with the Queen. They are put forward as evidences of the Queen's guilt by Mr. Walter Rye* in the pamphlet before mentioned, entitled *The Murder of Amy Robsart. A Brief for the Prosecution.*

(a) "It is said that there is an entry in a well-kept, 'partially illuminated MS.,' preserved at the Free School at Shrewsbury, as to an illegitimate son of the Queen by Dudley having been educated there. . . . See *Antiquary*, iii. p. 250.

"As to this child, 'Arthur Dudley,' see Lingard, vi. 659, and note E. E. 718."

* A noted antiquarian of Norwich, where he still resides at the good age of seventy-six. His versatility is well indicated by the following extract from *Who's Who*: "Born 1843 ; Educ. King's College Evening Classes : Formerly a London Solicitor . . . ex-amateur champion walker, 1868 (then holding all-world records from 1 mile to 7) ; winner of many open races at walking, running . . . and tricycling ; Founder and President of the Thames Hare and Hounds . . . formerly Hon. Sec. of the London Athletic Club ; Mayor of Norwich, 1908, and a co-opted member of its Library Committee. Publications : Ninety antiquarian publications. . . . Recreations : critical investigation of genealogical and historical myths . . . indexing (score to date, over 900,000 items) ; tricycling, wool-gathering, archery."

Mr. Rye's pamphlet is stated to have been "of great value" to Dr. Ernst Bekker in writing his *Elizabeth und Leicester*, Giessen, 1890. Foreword, p. vi.

The authorities to which Mr. Rye makes reference with respect to his indictment are :

“ *The Maiden Queen’s Son*.—An entry in a well-kept, partially illuminated MS., preserved in the free school at Shrewsbury, runs as follows :—‘ Henry Roido Dudley Luther Plantagenet, filius Q. E. reg. et Robt. comitis Leicestr.’ Are any other facts in existence relating to this son of the ‘ Maiden Queen,’ beyond the tradition preserved at Shrewsbury regarding his having been brought up at this school ? The MS. in question was the parish church book, and the entry is supposed to be in the handwriting of Sir John Dychar, who was then Vicar of Shrewsbury.—*Antiquary*, iii., May 24, 1873, p. 250.”

The sentence about Arthur Dudley refers only to those extracts from Lingard, which we have already quoted and expanded. It will be recalled at once that according to *Arthur Dudley’s* own statement, he was educated in London ; whereas the reputed Shrewsbury offspring got *his* schooling at the *latter* place. It should not escape us that although Mr. Rye says that *Arthur Dudley* and *Henry Dudley* were one and the same, we know that *Arthur says that his name was Arthur, while the only existing evidence that Henry ever lived at all gives him the latter designation.*

(b) “ Gonzales (*Documents from Simancas relating to the Reign of Elizabeth*, p. 89), under date 11th April, 1564, says, ‘ there was now a rumour that from Richmond Elizabeth went to Werwich. (Gonzales’s editor suggests Barwick, but surely the idea was Warwick.—W. R.) Some said it was to rid herself of the result of an indiscretion.’ ”

(c) “ ‘ A lewde Pasquyle sette forthe by certeen of the Parlyament men in 8th Elizabeth,’ may also be consulted.”

We must at once say that there is nothing at all in this document referring in even the remotest fashion to the Queen. Mr. Rye must have been misled in this matter. Those who desire proof of our contention, may secure it by a study of the transcription of the MS. in the Appendix, note 6.

* * * * *

Such is, so far as we have been able to learn and so far as the painstaking research for more than three centuries of the

most relentless enemies of the Great Queen has disclosed, all the contemporary evidence which can be considered as specifically accusing her with sexual immorality. The next task is, plainly, critically to examine these twenty-six direct Charges, to see if all or any of them are so authentic as to warrant us in convicting Elizabeth; that is, of convicting her beyond a reasonable doubt, as is the legal phrase; and the task, we hasten to reassure the reader, is not a prolonged or an involved one, at least as unfolded in the following chapter.

CHAPTER IX

THE DIRECT CHARGES CROSS-EXAMINED

IN opening our cross-examination of the foregoing direct testimony against Elizabeth, we proceed upon the assumption that the reader, by this time, will have arrived at the conclusion that a number of the twenty-six Charges are unworthy of detailed refutation.

Among them we place the *eight* prosecutions of country gossips for slander. The conclusion is irresistible that the mere reading of the documents accompanying them has convinced most students that they contain their own confutation.

Of the remaining *eighteen* charges, we believe there will be common agreement that *ten* are entitled to little more serious consideration. These *ten* we now examine.

1. CHARGE 2.—Lingard's assertion that there are at Simancas :

"several letters from an English lady, formerly known to Philip (probably the Marchioness of Winchester), describing in strong colours the dissolute manners both of Elizabeth, and her court."

As already pointed out, "Lingard is the only authority for the existence of any such letters, either now or in the time of Philip." The explanation is this: that Lingard, during the years he was writing his work, had a number of Catholic priests at the English Catholic College at Valladolid, some seven miles from Simancas, who were continually searching the archives in the latter place for materials to aid the first Catholic historian of the Reformation. The Protestants for two centuries had offered *their* side of the story of the schism with Rome—but at last the Catholic standpoint was to be

published by a learned priest, and all the Catholic world assisted him. The whole story may be learned at Ushaw, the great institution near Durham, where the Catholic historian lies in his last sleep ; where may also be found his literary remains, all of which were placed at our disposition.

The clue is found in a letter in the springtime of 1823, just as Lingard's volumes are about to go into print. He writes to his publisher, Mawman :

" Perhaps I should observe to you that in quoting the records of Simancas, I do not mention the n°. or the page, etc., as in quoting other documents. This arises from the jealousy of the Spaniards, or rather the standing orders of the place. The officials will not allow my friend to take any notes. He can only read them, and write down what he remembers, when he leaves."

Now this sort of thing *must* lead to misquotations ; and it offered opportunity for what is worse, *i.e.* reputed quotations from documents which did not exist. Of this latter, we are certain that we have an example in this Charge 2. This first comes into Lingard's papers through a letter from Sherburne at Valladolid, dated the 19th of February, 1823, stating that Mr. Cameron has been making notes at Simancas, which Sherburne now copies and encloses. Therein it is stated :

" Elizabeth's *Camerera mayor* was in his (Philip's.—F. C.) pay, she communicated the secrets of the Court to him, and among many other things Elizabeth's criminal intrigues with the Earl of Leicester. From the correspondence it appears that she was familiarized with assassination & stuck at no crime when it suited her interest. She engaged the Prince Dn Carlos to assassinate his father. . . . The *camerera mayor* I take to be the first Lady of honor, her name is in the correspondence, but they did not tell it me because they did not know how to pronounce it. . . . To make up the deficiency I will take a ride westward tomorrow, and see if something cannot be extorted. I know how delicate a matter it is and shall not be astonished if I return as I went. . . . Returned. I could not meet the name of the *Camerera mayor*, but am promised it shall be found for next post."

On the 28th of February, nine days later, Sherburne reports

to Lingard that he has not found the name of the *Camerera mayor*, and on the 16th of April he writes :

“ The unfortunate absence of the commissioner of the archives, has put it out of my power to meet with the correspondence of Elizabeth’s maid of honour, who communicated to Philip many particulars concerning her Mistress, & to which the commissioner was unable to direct me, at the distance to which he is removed. What I learned from him, in general, was, that the details placed Eliz : in the lowest place of dissoluteness & infamy.”

That is the last time but one that this affair appears in Lingard’s papers ; and there Lingard left it, except with the addition, as we have seen, of the name of the lady he deemed was referred to as “ the first Lady of honor ” of Elizabeth.

The explanation becomes clear when we know that the gentleman to whom Sherburne refers as “ the commissioner ” of Simancas in charge of its archives, was that Don Tomas Gonzalez Carvajal who, in 1832, published the first collection ever made of the Simancas documents under the title “ *Memorias de la Real Academia de la Historia*.” In a letter from Valladolid dated the 26th of November, 1833, ten years after Lingard’s first edition had appeared, Mr. Cameron writes :

“ I am as anxious, as he (Lingard) can be, to discover the practices of Elizabeth, *por el mucho amor que la*, for she was, as the Irishman said, the most d——d b—— that ever p—— ; but as Dr. Tomas no longer presides over the department I was obliged to request of a friend to introduce me to his successor . . . could discover no trace of the letters, which confirms me in the opinion emitted in my last.”

On the back of this letter, which Sherburne is transmitting from Cameron to Lingard, Sherburne adds :

“ When I visited Simancas I recollect Dr. Tomas saying : ‘ that bundle has furnished my materials,’ pointing to the papers on a particular shelf ”—*and the important fact for us is that Carvajal makes no reference in his volume to the “ Camerera mayor,” nor is she mentioned by any scholar who was ever at Simancas before or since Sherburne ; nor is any correspondence or trace of her to be found in the official publication of the Spanish*

Government containing the Simancas documents issued half a century later.

We must offer our version of what took place. We believe that there was an effort of some person or persons to get Lingard to insert charges in his book for which there was no true authority, and that the attempt, to a limited extent, was successful. We do not think that the onus of this should be longer borne by Lingard alone.

The other seven Charges may be very shortly disposed of.

2. CHARGE 3.—Lingard's effort to connect the Queen's 1561 swelling (from a recurrence of the dropsy which had afflicted her for so many years) with the story that Elizabeth lived with Dudley and had a child by him, Arthur Dudley, who appeared in Spain at Philip's court twenty-seven years later.

Two years after Lingard first publishes, he is still endeavouring to establish this point. In a letter from Sherburne at Valladolid, to Lingard, of the 16th of April, 1825, the former says :

“The original English remitted to him (To Englefield by the so-called Arthur Dudley.—F. C.) by orders of the King, has not been found. . . . I have to regret that I cannot discover the age of the pretender in order to see if his birth corresponded with the time of the dropsy of Q: Elizabeth mentioned to Philip 2° by his ambassador Quadras.”

We who have the Medical Record of the Queen do not need to pursue this myth further.

3. CHARGE 4.—“and it was afterwards believed that her licentious habits survived, even when the fires of wantonness had been quenched by the chill of age.”—Lingard; referring only for authority to Osborne, who was ten years of age when Elizabeth died. Osborne says :

“(The duel between Essex and Blunt) grew from the stock of honour of which then they were very tender . . . and not her amorous caresses, which age and in a manner an universal distribution of them had by this time rendered tedious if not loathsome; intimated in a most modest expression uttered in my hearing by Sir Walter Rawley . . . who said to this purpose, That Minions were not so happy as vulgar judgments

thought them, being frequently commanded to uncomely and sometimes unnaturall employments."

In no other part of Osborne's works is there anything that could be construed as a reflection upon Elizabeth. The phrase "amorous caresses," is susceptible of the meaning to which we in the nineteenth century began to limit it, *i.e.* to sexual indulgence. It was not so limited in the beginning of the sixteenth century; and we know that men and women caressed in an innocent though loving manner in the time of the Great Queen. The manners of the period permitted men and women to kiss upon the most casual meeting and acquaintance, almost as we now shake hands; and they were often described then as "amorous caresses." But even more convincing is our knowledge that Osborne did not consider that there was proof that Elizabeth was guilty. The following excerpts from his writings make that clear:

"Her sex did beare out many impertinences in her words and actions, as her making Latine speeches in the Universities, and professing her selfe in publique a Muse, then thought something too Theatrical for a virgine Prince, but especially in her Treatie relating to Marriage; Towards which some thought her incapable by nature, others too prepense, as may be found in the black relations of the Jesuits, and some Spanish Pasquilers That pretend to be more learned in the Art of Inspection, then wise Henry the fourth their King, who in a joviall humour told a Scottish Marques, There were three things inscrutable to intelligence: 1. Whether Maurice then Prince of Orange (who never fought battaille, as he said) was valiant in his person. 2. What Religion himself was of. 3. Whether Queene Elizabeth was a maid or no: which may render all reports dubious that come from meaner Men; yet it may be true that the Ladies of her bed chamber denied to her body the ceremony of searching and imbalming, due to dead Monarchs: But that she had a Son bred in the State of Venice, and a Daughter I know not where or when, with other strange tales that went on her, I neglect to insert, as better for a Romance, then to mingle with so much truth and integrity as I professe." —Osborne, *Memoirs*, 1658 ed. p. 60.

Again, on p. 31, *idem*, Osborne says:

"Now because the generality of such as desired his (Essex's)

ruine might think that the favour his Mistress shewed him proceeded from a nearer familiarity then I have been informed it did, by such as reported her apter both in her selfe and others to kindle the flames of Love, than quench them, They placed Blunt . . . in the ball of her eye."

As to the remark of Osborne that there was :

"a most modest expression uttered in my hearing by Sir Walter Rawley . . . who said to this purpose, That Minions were not so happy as vulgar judgments thought them, being frequently commanded to uncomely and sometimes unnaturall employments :"

it must be noted that there is nothing said by Raleigh—to give his own spelling of his name—which would indicate that he had the Queen in mind when he spoke as Osborne says he did ; that we now know that Raleigh's written word, even, was entirely worthless,* that he was exceedingly embittered against Elizabeth during the latter years of his life ; and that the chance of his saying *exactly* what Osborne reports at least *forty* years after the conversation occurred is very remote, as, indeed, is the likelihood that there ever was any such incident—and for this reason : That Osborne certainly could not recollect such an event, at any rate word for word, when he was ten years of age, as was the case when Raleigh began his fourteen years of imprisonment in the Tower. The only period during the remainder of his life when he was at liberty in England was between March, 1616, and June, 1617, when Osborne was between thirteen and fourteen. It should also be mentioned that this is the only instance (so far as we know) of any reference to any such practices of the Queen as might be inferred from this language of Osborne's, even if one be convinced that it refers to the Queen. Even the Catholics could not bring themselves to duplicate this in anything that has come down to us.

4. CHARGE 7.—"The last few days Lord Robert has come so much into favour that he does whatever he likes with affairs

* Speaking of Raleigh's "Apology" for the actions which led to his execution, Gardiner says "to all who knew what the facts were it stamped him as a liar convicted by his own admissions."—iii. p. 141.

and it is even said that her Majesty visits him in his chamber day and night.”—Count de Feria, Philip’s representative in London, in a letter to that monarch dated 18th April, 1559.

De Feria was a very able man, and one of Elizabeth’s most implacable foes. The following month he writes that she is “a woman who is the daughter of the devil.”* At another defeat of his schemes he shouts, “She is possessed by the devil, who is dragging her to his own place.” “That Medea,” is another of his pleasant characterizations of her, and he swears that the devil may have his soul if that fiend will only dethrone her. Yet he cannot say that she and Dudley *are* guilty. He will go no further than to say that “it is even said that her Majesty visits him in his chamber day and night.” It is not clear that he even *implies* immorality. He was not a man to hold his hand if he were desirous of striking a hard blow. Nobody could be more impetuous; yet he makes no definite charge. His statement, however, calls attention to the fact that so personal a monarch as was Elizabeth would often, necessarily and properly, be alone with many men for many hours on end, night and day. The sceptre was never laid down with any assurance that it would not be seized again at any moment—and in times of great anxiety Elizabeth knew not night from day, nor did she allow more freedom to any of her immediate assistants. She made them rich, yes—but she demanded every ounce of their strength in return. England still pursues the same policy. She exacts; but she gives.

It must also be observed that the woman has never lived who can be long alone with any man in one apartment without becoming a target for scandal—yet every man and every woman knows how often it is unjustified. When success depended upon secrecy, Elizabeth *had* to exclude *everybody* except the one whom she had decided was most worthy of confidence. Half of her very household was probably composed of spies. Every foreign government had its paid followers in her palaces, some, no doubt, even in her very bedchamber. Elizabeth had *her* spies in every foreign palace. The system is in full vigour to-day. In addition, however, to these enemies, Elizabeth was surrounded by more embittered opponents—by countrymen and countrywomen of her own, fanatically believing

* The 10th of May, 1559, *Cal. S. P., Simancas*, vol. i.

that it was the will of God that she should be destroyed because she had rejected Rome. Mary Stuart had her adherents among the highest officers of Elizabeth's palaces. The very high steward of Whitehall Palace itself was caught red-handed in the conspiracy that was to place Mary on England's throne as soon as Elizabeth could be assassinated, with the connivance of the Pope, who promised that heaven would not punish the dastard deed. On the other hand, Elizabeth had a spy acting as the private secretary of Mary, and it was his testimony that made her execution inevitable.

Yet those two women, who, by reason of their tasks and their dangers, *had* to see men in *absolute* seclusion, and be closeted alone with them for many hours, *could* not and did not escape accusation. No queen of any country has ever escaped it or ever will do so—and the more prominent and exclusive she is, the less her opportunity of freedom from these loathsome charges. Her very prominence and seclusion are the most tempting bait for every vain being to pretend to intimacy with her, and to the possession of exclusive intelligence only to be known by those nearest her person. The temptation is too great for many. They strut their little hour, provide the one interesting topic of the evening, enhance tremendously, as they believe, their own importance, and then disappear, leaving only muddy footsteps to show that they ever passed across the stage; and yet the disfigurement may endure for centuries! A woman's purity is never an interesting subject in a London drawing-room; but the guest who has a new scandal to retail will leap at a bound into the most prominent place among the company.

5. CHARGE 12.—The Spanish Ambassador de Silva writes, that while he was endeavouring to persuade Elizabeth to a marriage with the Austrian Archduke, a project fought fiercely by the French Ambassador as antagonistic to France, the latter "swore to me . . . that he had been assured by a person who was in a position to know that he (Leicester.—F. C.) had passed New Year's night with the Queen."

The words immediately following the above seem to us a complete response, in the absence of any further reference to this particular incident in any other contemporary document

—"The author" (De Silva continues), "however, is a Frenchman, and so strongly adverse to the Archduke's marriage, that he cannot conceal it." It is plain that de Silva believes that the report was only an effort to induce the Archduke to believe Elizabeth in carnal relations with Dudley, in the hope that he would refuse to marry her on that account.

6. CHARGE 19.—The accusation is contained in a résumé of four letters from a Spanish agent in London to Madrid. The letters themselves are not to be found. They are given as of the date of December, 1574, and January, 1575. The Charge is that Mary Stuart has been ordered to the Tower, and that her son and she are to be murdered. When this had been done :

"They would then raise to power (Presumably to the Throne of Scotland.—F. C.), the son of the earl of Hertford whom they would marry to a daughter of Leicester and the queen of England, who it is said, is kept hidden, although there are bishops to witness that she is legitimate. They think this will shut the door to all other claimants. This intrigue is said to be arranged very secretly."

Mary Stuart was not ordered to the Tower, and nobody except this Spaniard has ever known of the plot of the English Government to assassinate her and her son. Such a scheme was *exactly* the opposite of Elizabeth's true plan, which was to keep Mary in confinement, and maintain James on his throne until her own death, when he would succeed to the two kingdoms, and so make Great Britain, the goal of Elizabeth's ambition.

The résumé dares go no further than to say that "it is said" there is this daughter of Elizabeth "who, it is said" again, "is kept hidden, although there are bishops to witness that she is legitimate." Certainly this Spaniard is not very sure of the worth of his report ; and what does he mean by the last phrase "there are bishops to witness that she is legitimate" ? Are the bishops perjurers, or are Elizabeth and Leicester married ? One or the other is necessarily inferred, and there is nothing to tell us which.

There is nothing known in confirmation of this tale, and we cannot give it serious weight.

7. CHARGE 20.—The Bishop of Padua, Papal nuncio in Spain, writes from Madrid to the Cardinal of Como, who was then handling the foreign affairs of the Vatican :

“ I am assured that he (The English Ambassador at Madrid.—F. C.) has let it be known that the pretended Queen (Elizabeth.—F. C.) has a daughter thirteen years of age, and that she would bestow her in marriage on some one acceptable to his Catholic Majesty. I have heard talk before of this daughter, but the English here say that they know nought of such a matter.” *

The Vatican answers this letter on the following month with this observation :

“ Were it true that the pretended Queen had a daughter, his Holiness deems that it would enable his Majesty (Philip II. of Spain.—F. C.) to dispense with war, which of its own nature is so hazardous, and think of some accord by way of a marriage, which in the end might bring the realm back to the Catholic faith.”—Ptolemy Galli, Card. of Como, to Ormanetto, Bishop of Padua, Nuncio in Spain, Rome, 29th January, 1576.†

So the English Ambassador at Madrid was spreading about the report that his sovereign had an illegitimate daughter, whom she would marry to a Catholic chosen by the King of Spain ; the idea being, of course, that the couple would succeed to the throne of England upon Elizabeth's demise ! The Pope sees that if there were only some foundation—*i.e.* some daughter—for the scheme, it would be far better to take advantage of it than to promote so dangerous a plan as a war upon Elizabeth in order to effect the very thing that the English Queen was willing to bring about by peaceful methods. But the Vatican never wrote further about the policy. That is the end of it so far as history is concerned.

It appears to us that this is, clearly, an instance where Elizabeth deliberately slanders herself in a foreign country, the country most relentless among her enemies, who would pass the record down to all posterity.

It is unreasonable to suppose that the Queen's own Ambassador was slandering his mistress *except* with the knowledge and by the command of Elizabeth herself. By some error of

* *Vat. Arch. Nunt. di Spagna*, vol. viii. fol. 60r.

† *Ibid.* vol. ix. fol. 81.

judgment she *might*, it may be thought, have sent an enemy to Madrid as her representative—but if she did, we may be sure that he would not have remained there an hour after she learned of his slandering her in earnest ; and all will admit that she *would* have learned of it. It might even be supposed that he gave the information in confidence, were it not that he is proposing a scheme of action for uniting the two countries (even then on the brink of war), and for the further fact that the other English people of Madrid were asked about it. There could be no secret of that character under such circumstances. It is undoubtedly, we contend, a deliberate attempt of Elizabeth to deceive Philip and the Pope into making peace, and so averting that life and death struggle which was to break upon England and Spain within the next decade. We see the attitude of the Pope toward the acute plan of the English Ambassador. He was plainly in favour of it. Can we doubt that Philip, by far the more cautious of the two men, would have eagerly accepted the scheme if there had been any substance in it ? Why, then, did neither try to push it through ? The answer must be that the daughter could not be found.

We regard this occurrence as one of the most signal evidences of that immeasurable love Elizabeth had for her country. No greater sacrifice could be asked of any human being than of a good woman deliberately to fill literally the whole world, not only for the moment but—as she well knew—certainly for all posterity, with stories of her own immorality in order to help her people.

Yet Elizabeth, according to the most informed opinion, did this very thing for a second time when she sent the so-called Arthur Dudley to Spain to pose before Philip as her son. In that case—*vide postea* 3. CHARGE 6, and Appendix, note 5—Philip's chief authority on English affairs twice asserted that he believed Elizabeth originated the tale.

Elizabeth did it a third time when she sent an agent into Sweden at an occasion which suited her to make the king of that country, who had tried to marry her, believe she was not a good woman, for he had become a nuisance to her.

The main facts are contained in the following :

“ The King of Sweden, angry that Lord Robert (Leicester.—F. C.) has always had a double spy both on his ambassador

here and latterly upon himself in Sweden who was always frustrating the coming of the King hither and his marriage (To Elizabeth.—F. C.), has now sent to the Queen all the letters this spy wrote, containing much evil about her. The King asks, since this spy has impugned her honour, that he shall be punished or else that he shall be sent to Sweden for the King to punish, or otherwise he cannot avoid thinking that the Queen has been a consenting party to the trick that has been played upon him. The man was advised of what the King wrote, and fled to Antwerp, but I know that before he went he secretly took leave of the Queen and went with her good graces. I fear he is up to no better work in Antwerp.”*

This time, as in Spain, an acute monarch saw through the ruse and was able exactly to weigh the slander—which is more than can be said of many, for not only are we the first to mention the Swedish instance but the other two occasions as well. Yet these are among the most informing things Elizabeth ever did, when we try to read her real self.

8. CHARGE 23.—The Spanish ambassador in London reports to Philip II. that the French Ambassador had recently said to Elizabeth that “it was said that he (Alençon.—F. C.) had had illicit relations with her,” and “that she might well do so (Disregard the rumour.—F. C.) in her own country, but not elsewhere, where it had been publicly stated.” 1582.

Here we have more diplomacy. It was at a time, April, 1582, when Elizabeth wished to renew the proposals that the French prince had laid at her feet in his own person, only three months before. Her game was to make the King of France so sure of her marriage with Alençon, his brother, that that monarch would not join a proposed coalition of nations against her. Castelnau de Mauvissière, the French Ambassador, received Elizabeth’s proposals, and apparently informed the Spanish enemy that he told the Queen that she had forgotten to enumerate among her reasons for marrying Alençon “one which was of more importance than any, namely, that *it was said* that he (Alençon.—F. C.) had had illicit relations with her.” Mauvissière’s exact purpose in saying this to Spain we cannot certainly decide—but, as we shall see, Mauvissière *did not*

* De Quadra to the King of Spain, from London, 7th Feb., 1563, *C.S.P., Simancas*, vol. i. 1558–1567, p. 299, No. 211.

believe that such illicit relations had occurred. We have his words exactly to this effect ; but we must here leave the reader with this assurance, as the evidence is dealt with in another place.

In addition to this knowledge of the ambassador's belief that Elizabeth was innocent, we are quite justified in dismissing this particular charge, because Mauvissière himself, even according to Elizabeth's bitterest enemy, Mendoza, did no more than *assert that it was said* that immoral relations had existed.

9. CHARGE 24.—Anthony Bagot's letter to his father to the effect that "when she (Elizabeth.—F. C.) is abroad nobody is near her but my Lord of Essex, and at night my Lord is at cards, or at one game or another with her, that he cometh not to his own lodging till bird sing in the morning." Date uncertain, given by some as 1581, by others as 1587. In the former year, the Queen was forty-seven ; in 1587 she was fifty-four.

We have already referred to the danger of accepting mere *opportunity* to commit wrongdoing as any *proof* of it. Essex was one of her closest advisers, although thirty-four years her junior. He was like a son to her, and her attitude toward him was ever that of a loving, anxious mother to a kinsman, grandson of one of her dearest friends. She encouraged and chided him, as seemed best for his headstrong character ; but he got out of hand at last, and, having completely lost his sense of proportion, rebelled against the hand that had fed him, and ended a stormy but brilliant career on the block when only thirty-four years of age.

10. CHARGE 26.—*a.* "It is said that there is an entry in a . . . MS. . . . at the Free School at Shrewsbury, as to an illegitimate son of the Queen by Dudley having been educated there. . . . (That) entry . . . runs '*Henry Roido Dudley Luther Plantagenet, filius Q. E. reg. et Robt. comitis Leicestr.*' . . . The MS. in question was the parish church book, and the entry is supposed to be in the handwriting of Sir John Dychar, who was then Vicar of Shrewsbury."

The above extract is from Mr. Walter Rye, and for his

authority he quotes from the *Antiquary*, of the 24th of May, 1873, p. 250.

It is most unfortunate for Mr. Rye that he did not consult the same publication two weeks later for an answer to the inquiry for information which appeared in the number he mentions, for he would not then have offered this matter as a proof of the Queen's immorality.

The *Antiquary* for the 7th of June, 1873, p. 283, has this comment :

"*The 'Maiden Queen's' Son.*—The MS. in which the entry mentioned is found is thus referred to in the list of Benefactions:—'1606. John Dicher, Clerk, Vicar of Shabury, in the county of Salop his gifte, Biblia Latina manuscripta in folio.' On the third p. of this book, on the margin, is scribbled the entry quoted by your correspondent. This appears to have been written merely as a piece of passing scandal in the book, just as we see many things scribbled in modern books, and also in this one in other places. It is erased by a hand in a later ink which is faded. There is nothing official in this entry as your correspondent denotes, and the book is not the parish book in the ordinary sense of the word. The handwriting is not that of John Dicher, Vicar of Shabury, as his name appears on the first p., 'Johannis Dycher verus huius libri possessor;' consequently there is here nothing authoritative; and besides that, there is no entry or mention of such a person.

"H. W. M." *

This note expresses the facts, but not all of them. Not one book alone at The Schools contains an entry of this character, but eleven printed works, besides the Dicher MS. All of these entries are in the same hand, and all have been wholly or partly erased, usually with ink, in one case with a knife, in another by cutting out altogether. The writer of these eleven notes has a hand differing from that of the different owners or inscribers of the volumes. Not one of the volumes is of any official character. No two of the notes agree in wording. It is evident that some schoolboy spent an exceedingly

* J. B. Oldham, Esq., M.A., present Librarian of The Schools, Shrewsbury, informs us that H. W. M. who signs this comment "is obviously Mr. Moss, the late Headmaster. Mr. Oldham adds, "No one here, as far as I can find out, has ever heard of the alleged tradition that the mythical boy was at school here."

idle hour at some unknown period among the books of the Library of The Schools.

b. "Gonzales . . . says 'there was now a rumour that from Richmond Elizabeth went to Werwich. . . . Some said it was to rid herself of the result of an indiscretion.'"—11th April, 1564.

This is also brought forward in the indictment by Mr. Rye. It seems to us that it is important that attention be called to the fact that the latter sentence in the above quotation is not exactly given. The period given at its close should be a semi-colon, and additions, for they exist in the original, should be made until the sentence reads :

"Some said it was to rid herself of the result of an indiscretion ; others, that it related to the marriage of the Queen of Scots."

To our mind, that completely alters the *weight* of the accusation. It at once recedes into a most unlikely rumour. Had the Spanish Ambassador deemed it as founded, would he have left it in this fashion ?

We believe there will be general agreement that the *eighteen* Charges we have now examined contain nothing that should convict Elizabeth of immorality, or are even worthy of serious examination.

Of the remaining *eight* Charges, however, the same cannot be said. At first sight, they constitute, to the average reader, a formidable indictment, as does every *ex parte* case until it be met by rigid cross-examination. One Charge in particular is likely at one reading to convince the student that Elizabeth was guilty. It has probably done that already. We refer to the Dyer-Hatton letter, Charge 17. It certainly made that impression upon us, and, in itself, with no explanation or counterbalancing testimony, would probably convict Elizabeth before the jury of mankind ; yet it is practically unknown to the world at large. It has appeared in none of the lives of the Queen, nor in any general history of her times. We shall soon consider it in all its bearings.

We shall now examine these eight Charges which we have said to be serious :

I. CHARGE 1.—Lingard's statement that " Quadra . . . the Spanish ambassador, . . . informs the king that according to common belief, the Queen lived with Dudley ; " that she showed Quadra the situation of her rooms to disprove the rumour, but later " under the pretext that Dudley's apartment in the lower story of the palace was unwholesome, . . . removed him to another, contiguous to her own chamber. The original despatches are at Simancas."

As we are already aware, there is no document at Simancas to the effect that Quadra told the King of Spain, or anybody else, that " according to common belief, the Queen lived with Dudley, and, in proof of its improbability, shewed him the situation of her room and bed-chamber."

Were this all, however, we could safely put the accusation aside ; but, as already indicated, the librarian of Simancas published in 1832 a résumé of the papers under his charge, and in that volume he makes a statement substantially on all fours with that of Lingard. To be sure, Carvajal does not say that " according to common belief the Queen lived with Dudley," as Lingard says the Spanish author writes ; Carvajal says quite another thing, *i.e.* " the rumours . . . became so prevalent that she *now indulged in illicit relations with Leicester.*" Lingard asserts that Quadra reported that the *common opinion* was that she lived with Dudley. Carvajal actually says that the report became *so common that she took measures to show him that it was not true.*

The variation between the phrase " lived with " and " indulged in illicit relations with," is not important for us. The only thing of moment is that there is no such document at Simancas, although Lingard and Carvajal say that there is, or was. As for Lingard, we know where he secured *his* information. We have read the original letter which conveyed it to him. It is dated from Valladolid, the 28th of February, 1823, and is from Sherburne to Lingard. When we turn to Carvajal, however, we are confronted with a different state of affairs. Would he, the librarian of Simancas, and that at a time when he had retired, or was about to retire, from that institution—he left it

in the year when his book was published, 1832—have prevaricated upon so controversial a point, knowing that he was giving to the world a new accusation against the woman most hated by his people?

We cannot believe him guilty. We are of opinion that there *was* some document at Simancas which was a substantial foundation for the epitome given by Carvajal. But it must be insisted upon that Carvajal does not give *quotations* in his work. The volume is a collection of his *general reports* of documents which he says he found at Simancas—and his compression of the originals is extreme. For example, he covers the documents of 1561, the year of those we are considering, in five pages, while it takes eight times as many to give them entire—so far as we have them. A still greater number are available, while the later official Spanish calendar of them occupies 60 pages. In other words, until and unless—and we have searched in vain for it at Simancas—this missing despatch appears *we shall not know* what de Quadra wrote.

Yet we prefer to meet the charge as it stands. It has been spread broadcast as if it were sacrosanct, and has been so accepted; and what does it amount to?—merely that it was commonly reported about London that the Queen and Robert were too intimate. Does the ambassador believe it? There is not a word to indicate as much; and had he considered it even probable, he could have had no more important message to transmit.

It was the *one* thing that the Catholics needed to weigh the scales down on their side. The fanatical Protestants of those days would never have supported a *guilty* Queen. Mary Stuart lost her throne and her most powerful supporter, the Pope, when, in disgust at her intrigue with Bothwell, he threw up his hands, and despairingly said that “as regards this particular question of the Queen of Scotland, it is his intention to have no further relations with her, unless by and by he shall discover in her some sign of improvement in life and religion upon what he has observed in the past.” *

The man who had illicit relations with Elizabeth was the person who had to be dealt with by foreign Powers—not the

* Card. Alessandrino to Vincent Lauri, Bishop of Mondovi, Nuncio for Scotland, from Rome, 2nd July, 1567.

woman. She had surrendered to him. He was the master of England, not she; and that is exactly, we submit, why *no ambassador can be found to say flatly that Elizabeth was immoral—and it is why de Quadra does not say it in this despatch. Neither he nor any one of his colleagues was going to say that Elizabeth was immoral, unless he knew it to be true—and as he never knew it, so he never reported it. He would not have occupied his position for a single day after making an erroneous report to that effect. He was willing at any time to send anything that “he said,” or “she said,” or “they said,”—but that was very different from what de Quadra himself had to say.*

He very well knew that a good-looking young man of the Queen's age, whom she had rapidly promoted to the highest places in her gift, displacing scores of other candidates for each honour, could not escape the charge that he was succeeding by means of an illicit hold over her. In no kingdom on earth could such a thing occur without similar charges—and it is not the slightest proof of the guilt of either accused.

The second part of this Charge remains to be examined, that which states that Elizabeth “under the pretext that Dudley's apartment in the lower story of the palace was unwholesome, . . . removed him to another, contiguous to her own chamber.” We have already pointed out that the *official* Spanish document says nothing about any “*pretext.*” Lingard receives this from his Valladolid friends—and once more Carvajal agrees with him. Yet in this instance both are wrong. So both Lingard and Carvajal have imported into the original an element of suspicion which that report never contained.

As to the change of his apartments, we have already seen that there were proper, imperative reasons why the Great Queen should insist that her most trusted friends should occupy apartments as close as possible to her own. We may be sure that from time immemorial, no unmarried woman-monarch of England—even for one night—had ever occupied a sleeping apartment without one or more lady companions.

Well might Elizabeth, when the candid friend told her of the gossip about her, say :

“There is a strong idea in the world that a woman cannot live unless she is married, or at all events if she refrain from

marriage, she does so from some bad reason, as they said of me that I did not marry because I was fond of the Earl of Leicester, and that I would not marry him because he had a wife already. Although he has no wife alive now, I still do not marry. . . .”

That throws a light upon Elizabeth's dilemma. She was helpless. *In no way* could she escape accusations of immoral relations—even with *Burghley*!—and it should be recalled that the country was filled with men who would have deemed it the thing in their world to be thought paramours of the Queen.

2. CHARGE 5.—Here we have the Scandal Letter imputed to Mary Queen of Scots, of which Lingard says “almost every statement in it has been confirmed by other documents.” He thus leaves us to infer that he believes the document and its charges to be authentic, although he will not commit himself in so many words. Our own opinion is that he did *not* so believe, *but hoped that his readers would do so, and believed that they would* from the manner in which he left his observations.

The first remark to be made is, that if this letter is genuine—and all we know about its history is that it was found at Hatfield among Burghley's papers, endorsed in a hand ascribed by the Public Record Office to Burghley's son, Robert Cecil, with this single word “readde,”—it is of the first importance to our inquiry.

As to the handwriting, it is either that of Mary, or so good a forgery that nothing except external evidence will indicate the writer ; but, in any event, we do not deem the handwriting of much importance, because the counterfeiting of it was easily to be done. Anybody with any sense of line could produce a copy of the Scandal Letter, which, in the absence of the original, would be taken as in the handwriting of the Scottish Queen. The deception is made easier still by very rough paper, and an uncertain instrument. Labanoff, a very great authority upon anything attached to Mary Stuart, says that he examined the original at Hatfield and is convinced that it is authentic. If it be so, it is the most remarkable letter ever penned by Mary ; and, what is more, it is in two particulars different from her other productions, *i.e.* There is no address to open it, and there is no formal conclusion—features which we believe to be

amant ce que ie vous ay promis. Saluez despuis desirer ie vous declare ors quelques iustes
naturelles choses soient amonrees en question may tres sincerement sans aucunement
est papale mon Dieu Attestant que la comtesse de Scherbrooke n'est point
qui soit au plus pres de ces femmes a la plus part de quoy ie proteste au nom de Dieu
deprent la dite dame de crime en tout. Si auent ieusement de vous comme
ie ne ne croys point ni croy apresent congnossant le naturel de la comtesse
de quel esprit elle est. Alors pointee contre vous. Premièrement son mariage
auoit que vous auez fait promesse de mariage devant une dame de vostre cour
auoit conche infimes fois amesques vns amee toute la licence et ymanite de son
iur. entre mon & femme. Mais qu'indubitablement vous nestiez pas comme
les autres femmes & pour ce respect cestoit folie a tenir ceux qui affectuent
mariage avec monseigneur le duc de...

unique, either separately or combined, in any letter left to us in Mary's hand. We have examined the 145 letters written by Mary to Elizabeth, and believe *that this is the only one of them not opened and closed in the manner indicated*. Nor can we discover any other letter to anybody whomsoever, begun *or* ended with this lack of formality, among the other 591 known letters of Mary. We cannot, moreover, fail to be impressed by the fact that Prince Labanoff must have been cognizant of these omissions, although he says nothing to this effect; for, as we have already noted, he supplies the address of "Madam." Why he should do such a thing, and not mention it, can only be conjectured.

Furthermore, there is the fact that no other undisputed letter of Mary's contains anything approaching scandal. The style is different from any other of Mary's letters. She was a most accomplished and elegant writer of French. Much of this letter is in very poor and even uncertain French. The paper upon which it appears is not of the kind she used in any other letter at Hatfield. This cannot be accepted as a *proven* letter of Mary Stuart. Yet we must consider it with some care, for it *may* be hers. We first deal with Lingard's assertion that "almost every statement in it has been confirmed by other documents." To say that "almost every statement" in a letter containing hundreds of them "is confirmed by other documents," is a very shrewd method of attack, because there is no way of meeting it except by an exhaustive examination of each one—and that is impossible. Lingard has further protected himself by refraining to indicate any of the "other documents" by which, he says, "almost every statement in it has been confirmed." Thus, there is no means of pinning Lingard down to *anything*, except his general accusation.

As to that, he is in the greatest difficulty, because his authority, Mary Stuart, expressly states in the opening sentence of the letter that "*the greater part*" of its charges "*I did not at all believe, knowing the disposition of the Countess and by what spirit she was then urged on against you.*" Nor is this all. There is the *omnibus* denial of all the charges of the MS., as the reader will have noted, contained in its last lines, *i.e.*—"I swear to you once more on my faith and honour that . . . what

concerns your honour . . . will never be known through me holding it as quite false."

In the face of these two denials of the slanders, Lingard's contention is plainly untenable. He is in the position of the prosecuting attorney wanting to use testimony of one of his witnesses, who expressly repudiates it. There are only three ways of surmounting this difficulty—to prove the man incapable of realizing that he has repudiated most of the charges ; to prove that he has poor judgment as to the value of evidence, or to prove that he is a liar. As the prosecutor has no evidence to submit except that of this witness, his position is not enviable. Either course is fatal to the credibility of the witness, and the case must fail.

In this instance, if we admit Mary as author, the verdict against the prosecution is doubly certain—for *Mary Stuart knew if anybody knew, whether or not Elizabeth was immoral*. So did her spies at Whitehall, and all the other palaces. Practically one in every two Englishmen was then a Catholic—and no other living person had so great a stake as Mary Stuart dependent upon proving the guilt of her great rival. With *proof* in her hands, Mary would almost surely have unseated Elizabeth. Every Catholic was for Mary. The great majority of the Protestants would not have supported a dissolute woman as their ruler. There were as many John Knox-like fanatics in England as in Scotland. It was *they* who drove out Mary, and they drove her out because *her moral guilt was too plain to be denied*. Their English prototypes would have done the same thing to *their* queen had *her moral guilt been too plain to be denied*. As it was not too plain to be denied, she died The Queen. As we have said, the contest between these cousins was, in its essence, one of *character alone*—and she who, in the judgment of the majority of her people, retained it, defeated her who, in the judgment of the majority of *her* people, lost it.

There is also to be considered the authority quoted by the author of the letter—the sole authority, the Countess of Shrewsbury. Had her name been spelt only with its first five letters, the description would be unimpeachable. She has come down to us across the centuries as one of the very worst of viragos. We have her own testimony that she was a liar and a slanderer, for, after spreading abroad all over England

that her husband had been intimate with his prisoner Mary Stuart, the termagant at a later period retracted the charge under oath. She intrigued first with Elizabeth, and then with Mary, one against the other. Neither her contemporaries nor posterity has a good word for her.

She employed every and any weapon to gain her ends, and no better example of the unscrupulous woman can be discovered. When she was sought in marriage by Shrewsbury, the greatest and richest subject of the realm, she, who had already been a widow three times, and had succeeded in spite of issue in inheriting every shilling possessed by each husband, now made the most extraordinary bargain in the history of marital settlements. She would not marry until she saw her youngest daughter married to Shrewsbury's second son, and his daughter married to her eldest son—and all of them were in their teens ! The story is capped by the fact that she survived the fourth spouse, and got all his money as well.

Thrown into the Tower by Elizabeth for conspiring with Mary, the Countess never forgave the English monarch. During the remainder of her life, which extended a generation beyond that of the Queen, she seemed to have no other object than to injure her memory, and that of her own husband, who had always stood in the very front rank of those most trusted by Elizabeth. Her animus was so strong that it defeated her own purpose, as the testimony of the Scandal Letter discovers. Even Mary Stuart, desirous as she must have been to find the accusations true, could not believe them. *Had Mary Stuart believed in these or in any other stories to the same effect, she would have informed the Pope, Philip II., and the Catholic monarchs of France. There is not, however, and never has been, so far as anybody is able to determine, the slightest evidence that Mary ever did anything of the sort ; and once again we repeat that Mary Stuart KNEW.*

The matter, then, comes to this—that Lingard believes the charges, and Mary Stuart does not, for she says so twice, in so many words. Such is the real position of Lingard ; and it is needless to pursue his case further, except to reiterate that there are no documents proving these charges. Had there been, he would have quoted them, instead of employing such general statements as “ The woman who despises the

safeguards, must be content to forfeit the reputation, of chastity."

So far, then, as documents are concerned, we may dismiss the charges. If the letter *be* one of Mary Stuart's, *she* dismisses them. If the letter *be not* by Mary Stuart, *it* dismisses itself. The reader is left to his choice.

3. CHARGE 6.—The supposed son of Elizabeth called Arthur Dudley. The complete record of all known documents dealing with this alleged offspring is in the Appendix, note 5.

From the perusal of these documents we note the resemblance of the tale to one of the oldest in legendary lore. The facts that the hero stole from his protector, that he was willing to write a book "to any effect that might be considered desirable" by his Spanish friends, if they would only support him, and that he was "a very feigned Catholic," are, however, unique. The tale is, plainly, too much for the Spaniards, and their spy, or, rather, traitor, Sir Francis Englefield, Philip's English secretary—too much, we mean, for them, writing among themselves, to make a pretence of accepting it without closer investigation. The record of the young man according to his own story is as severe an indictment as could be drawn: he was a thief from his benefactor, whom he supposed to be his own father; he was willing to sell his convictions for board and bed; and he was willing to deny his religion before God himself.

Considering that no other document mentioning him is known, we might say that he was a mere adventurer trying to befool Philip II. with the most likely tale he could invent at the time—were it not that Englefield, a very acute man, says twice that he believes Elizabeth knows, and originates, the tale the young fellow tells. As to her designs in this, he cannot be certain—but that it is so he appears to be more convinced than of any other fact.

Further discussion of this charge is unnecessary—especially as we shall later produce direct testimony that the Queen never had children.

4. CHARGE 9.—The letter from the Spanish Ambassador in London to the Duchess of Parma, containing language which

to Englishmen might suggest actual "misconduct"—that is, as the word is now used in England, actual cohabitation—between Elizabeth and Dudley.

De Quadra says that Cecil was in disgrace with the Queen and that Dudley was :

"trying to turn him out of his place . . . he clearly foresaw the ruin of the realm through Robert's intimacy with the Queen, who surrendered all affairs to him. . . . He said he did not know how the country put up with it. . . . He ended by begging me in God's name to point out to the Queen the effect of her misconduct, and persuade her not to abandon business entirely but to look to her realm ; and then he repeated twice over to me that Lord Robert would be better in Paradise than here."

That is the translation of the original document, with which the English-speaking public may be familiar, for it is that of the Calendar of State Papers, the official publication of the English Government, the *sine quâ non* of the average English historical writer. There are two things about this official translation which have commonly misled English readers. We refer to the employment of the words "intimacy" and "misconduct." To the mind of the average Englishman these two terms mean nothing except illicit relations between man and woman. In England these words can no more be restored to their true meanings than could the word "seduce," or the title "mistress."

Examination of the original * of this Spanish letter discloses that the Spanish word translated as "intimacy" is *privanca*, which can properly only be translated as "intimacy" so long as illicit relations are *not* indicated in one of two ways, *i.e.* 1, by specific, definite accompanying words ; or, 2, by the context. In other words, *privanca* means innocent relationship unless it is clear that the contrary is stated.† It is only in the secondary

* Consult Brit. Mus. MS. Add. 26,056 a, 109.

† *Privanza*, sf. Favour, protection, familiar intercourse between a prince or great personage and a person of inferior rank.—Neumann and Baretti, revised by Seoane of the Univ. of Salamanca.

Privanza, f. Favour, protection ; familiar intercourse between a prince or great personage and a person of inferior rank.—Cadena.

Privanza, f. Favour, protection.—Jorba.

Privanza, sf. Favour ; protection ; intimacy.

or tertiary use of the word that an immoral sense can be given to it.

So it is with the original Spanish word upon which alone can be based the Calendar's translation "misconduct"—*desórdenes*; unless it be qualified by modification, or governed by context, no sense of the illicit or immoral can be given to it.*

The true test, then, is the *context*, for there are no qualifying words attached to either expression. Is there anything in the balance of this despatch to alter these two words from their *usual* innocent meaning when used by an educated Spaniard, and impart to them their *unusual* guilty meaning?

First, let us see what the entire passage conveys when these disputable words are omitted. That should tell us what kind of relationship, what kind of conduct it is, that Cecil fears will ruin the realm, and that the people will not stand.

"After this I had an opportunity of talking to Cecil, who, I understand, was in disgrace; and Robert was trying to turn him out of his place. After exacting many pledges of strict secrecy, he said that the Queen was conducting herself in such a way that he thought of retiring. He said it was a bad sailor who did not enter port if he could when he saw a storm coming on, and he clearly foresaw the ruin of the realm through Robert's——with the Queen, who surrendered all affairs to him, and meant to marry him. He said he did not know how the country put up with it, and he should ask leave to go home, although he thought they would cast him into the Tower first. He ended by begging me in God's name to point out to the Queen the effect of her——, and persuade her not to abandon business entirely but to look to her realm; . . ."

What warrant is there for leading us to suppose that de Quadra meant to suggest *illicit relations* in those two blank spaces above? If, however, it be done, the logic of the entire excerpt becomes incoherent and involved. Cecil is made to

* *Desórdenes*, m. 1. Disorder, confusion, irregularity, misorder. 2. Disorder, tumult, misrule, hurry. 3. Lawlessness, licence, excess, abuse.—Neumann and Baretti.

Desordenes, m. 1. Disorder, confusion, irregularity. 2. Lawlessness, licence, excess, abuse. 3. Lack of symmetry of connection, in which lyric poetry commonly offends; in the phrase *Bello desorden*.—Cadena.

Desordenes, m. Disorder, confusion. 2. Tumult.—Jorba.

Desordenes, sm. Disorder; confusion; excess; abuse.—Meadows, of the Univ. of Paris.

say that while it is the criminal intimacy that is ruining the country, what he wants most is, not that the criminal intimacy should stop, but only her handing over of the country's business to Robert. To our mind, such a reading is impossible for that reason alone—yet that is far less cogent than the complete absence, except in these two words, of anything in the entire passage that clearly or even remotely denotes that criminal relations are its subject.

We cannot, therefore, consider that the Calendar version is supportable—and how the difficulties disappear if, in the above two blanks we insert the usual and ordinary meaning of the Spanish words, *i.e.* for “intimacy,” “great familiarity”: and for “misconduct,” “bad policy”! Then the letter becomes a logical entity, and not till then.

We see in it then an attempt by Cecil to save his place, persuade the Spanish diplomat to see Elizabeth, and warn her not to entrust so much state business to Dudley, not to marry him and abandon business herself. There is a further reason for this contention, *i.e.* that from all we know of Burghley's references to these stories of Elizabeth's immorality—and he *knew* the truth—he always maintained, as we shall soon see, that she was entirely innocent. The only citation from Burghley to the contrary effect ever made by anybody is contained in the above misquotation and perversion of the original Spanish. Practically all of the Queen's detractors have used this de Quadra-Cecil report for the defamation of a woman whom Cecil, certainly, and de Quadra, probably, would have defended.*

Froude reads nothing into the original letter of an illicit character; and, what is more, his reading exhibits many other glaring faults in the Calendar work, not only of omission but of positive commission:

“After my conversation with the Queen, I met the Secretary Cecil whom I knew to be in disgrace. Lord Robert I was aware was endeavouring to deprive him of his place.

“With little difficulty I led him to the subject; and, after

* *Vide Cambridge Modern History* for a typical example of how historians have been misled by this Calendar translation: “Cecil, it (the de Quadra letter) asserts, desired the ambassador to intervene and reduce his mistress to the path of virtue.”—Vol. ii. p. 582.

many protestations and entreaties that I would keep secret what he was about to tell me, he said that the Queen was going on so strangely that he was about to withdraw from her service. It was a bad sailor, he said, who did not make for port when he saw a storm coming ; and for himself he perceived the most manifest ruin impending over the Queen, through her intimacy with Lord Robert. The Lord Robert had made himself master of the business of the State and of the person of the Queen, to the extreme injury of the realm, with the intention of marrying her ; and she herself was shutting herself up in the palace, to the peril of her health and life. That the realm would tolerate the marriage he said he did not believe ; he was therefore determined to retire into the country, although he supposed they would send him to the Tower before they would let him go.

“ He implored me for the love of God to remonstrate with the Queen ; to persuade her not utterly to throw herself away as she was doing, but to remember what she owed to herself and to her subjects.”—Froude, vol. vii., 1863 ed., p. 278.

5. CHARGE 16.—That the royal prince of France, Anjou, told Catherine de Medici, his mother, that “ he never wishes to marry her (Elizabeth.—F. C.) even if she wishes it ; so much has he heard against her honour, and seen of it in the letters of all the ambassadors who have been there, that he considers he would be dishonoured and lose all the reputation he thinks he had acquired.”

The date of the above is the 2nd of February, 1571, and the speaker is Catherine de Medici, writing to Fénélon, French Ambassador in London. Catherine, mother of the King, Charles IX., and of Anjou (afterward Henry III.) and Alençon, his brothers, was the real ruler of France. Anjou was just twenty years of age when the marriage negotiations were opened by the French in the autumn of 1570. Elizabeth was his senior by seventeen years. Some six months afterward, on the 2nd of February, 1571, the prince made the above declaration to his mother, through his brother the King. At least, that is what she says took place, and we see no reason to doubt her statement ; although, of course, we have to reckon with the fact that this message or statement had already passed through the hands of Charles and his mother. So it is improbable that we have Anjou's exact words.

We are further handicapped by the loss of much of the correspondence of the various French ambassadors to London during the first decade of Elizabeth's reign. The first year's letters we have ; then there is an absolute blank of more than two years ; while the remaining seven years or so are woefully incomplete. For the succeeding seven years, however, November, 1568, to September, 1575, when Fénélon served continuously, we have a complete record, which, it will be observed, begins two years before the Anjou proposals were initiated. In none of the Fénélon correspondence is there anything from him reflecting upon Elizabeth's honour. In none of that of his predecessors, so far as we have it, is there anything.

We shall never know what the missing despatches contained that served as basis for the decision of Anjou. He does not state that anybody ever said she was *guilty*—he says that he has heard so much “ against her honour, and seen of it in the letters of all the ambassadors who have been there that he considers he would be dishonoured ” should he marry her. That is a very different thing. There are many men who will not marry a woman because she has been talked about, even if they believe she is innocent, as did Anjou in the case of Elizabeth.

Upon the 22nd of March, 1572, thirteen months after the prince had declared he would never marry Elizabeth on account of what he had read about her honour, Catherine had a talk with Walsingham and Smith in her garden at Blois concerning this decision of her son. Under Charge 16 *ante*, we cited this much of what she then said :

“ I bare him (Anjou.—F. C.) in hand (for it grieved me not a little, and the King, my Son, as you know) that of all evil rumours and tales of naughty persons, such as would break the matter, and were spread abroad of the Queen, that those he did believe, and that made him so backward.”*

This is quite good evidence that neither the King of France, nor his mother, the great Catherine, believed the tales apparently reported by the various ambassadors to Elizabeth's Court. This conclusion may seem rash ; but it is supported by the concluding clauses of Catherine's sentence :

* Fénélon, *Corresp. Dip.*, tom. 7, p. 183.

“and I told him it is all the hurt that evil men can do to noble women and princes, to spread abroad lies and dishonourable tales of them ; and that we of all princes that be women are subject to be slandered wrongfully of them that be our adversaries. Other hurt they cannot do us. He said and swore to me he gave no credit to them. He knew that she had so virtuously governed her realm this long time, that she must needs be a good and virtuous princess, and full of honour ; and other opinion of her he could not have, but that his conscience and his religion did trouble him, and nothing else.”

We cannot learn what had altered Anjou's decision not to marry Elizabeth because of the things said about her—we only know that in the year between his two declarations alter it he did. Nor is the matter important. The thing of moment for us is that “he said and swore,” and his mother flatly said that neither of them believed Elizabeth immoral. These statements, from these sources, decided and direct as they are, are of very great weight.

6. CHARGE 17.—The Dyer-Hatton letter. We now come to the consideration of that which, when read only once—after the usual manner of the great majority of readers—constitutes the strongest known piece of evidence against Elizabeth ; and this in spite of the fact that we have nothing to prove its authenticity. It is not an original. Most authorities would probably discard it because all testimony is lacking as to its authorship. That is the view of so great an authority as the editor of *Notes and Queries*, wherein he says that what we call The Dyer-Hatton Letter was “extracted from the Harl. MSS. . . . being a collection of *transcripts* of many letters and papers *said* to have been found in the study of Mr. Dell, secretary to Archbishop Laud ; its authenticity, therefore, may be fairly questioned.”* That, to be sure, is not a pedigree of very good quality, for the most telling bit of evidence extant against Elizabeth—but we are unable to better it, although we have left no stone unturned.

A perfectly fair epitome of the attendant facts, and of the letter itself, would appear to be as follows :

Dyer was the son of a country knight, a courtier by profession. Apparently born about seven years later than his sovereign,

* *Notes and Queries*, vol. vii. 2nd Ser., p. 283, number of 2nd April, 1859.

he spent some time at Oxford, but did not obtain a degree. He then spent several years on the Continent, appearing at Court for the first time about 1566, when some twenty-five years of age. Burghley and Leicester were his patrons, and he appears, as his letters show, to have been entirely dependent upon them for any advancement.* He was a respectable poet, and a close friend of Philip Sidney, the one Englishman who seems to have been accepted as the embodiment of all that a man should be. Half of Sidney's books were left in his will to Dyer. Dyer was sent on numerous minor diplomatic errands, and, from all accounts, we may consider him a gentleman of good character. His possibilities appear in the following extract from a letter of Gilbert Talbot's dated the 11th of May, 1573, written to his father, the Earl of Shrewsbury :

"Hatton is sick still : it is thought he will very hardly recover his disease, for it is doubted it is in his kidneys. The Queen goeth almost every day to see how he doth. Now is there devices (chiefely by Lecester, as I suppose, and not withoute Burghley his knowledge) how to make Mr. Edward Dier as great as ever was Hatton ; for now, in this tyme of Hatton's sicknes, the tyme is convenient : It is brought thus to passe ; Dier lately was sicke of a consumcion, in great daunger ; and, as your Lo. knoweth he hathe bene in displeasure thes 11 yeares, it was made the Quene beleve that his sicknes came because of ye continiaunce of hir displeasure towards him, so that unles she would forgyve him he was licke not to recover ; & heruppon hir Majestie hathe forgyven him, and sente unto him a very comfortable message ; now he is recovered agayne, and this is the beginninge of this device. Theise thinges I lerne of suche younge fellowes as my selfe." †

The Dyer-Hatton Letter, taking it at its face value, shows that Hatton is out of favour with Elizabeth, and this as a result of an enemy's displacing him in her regard. It is plain that Hatton has been consulting Dyer as to the course he had best take to regain his prestige, and to displace the rival.

In the opening paragraph, Dyer warns him that a dispute involving a monarch is a very different affair from one between

* *The Poetical Rhapsody*, by Francis Davison ; *vide* Dyer's biography in Introduction, by Nicholas Harris Nicolas, F.S.A.

† *Lodge, III.*, vol. ii. p. 101.

two of her subjects, even “ *though she do descend very much in her sex as a woman* ” ; that if he be so foolish as to challenge her decision in the matter, the public will follow her nod, no matter whether she be right or not.

“ If,” says he in substance, “ you are disposed publicly to air your grievance and thus try to prove her in the wrong, she will not be pleased, for it will amount to a threat that you are going to try to stir up public opinion in your favour to such an extent that she will not dare persist in her present unfriendly attitude ; that course would lead to her hating you. Still, if you *will* try these means, and you seem to be winning, push it to the end ; and if it appears to be going wrong before success arrives, suddenly change your tactics to something the Queen will like better.

“ But I believe that this is not the best course. I think the thing for you to do is to be agreeable and subordinate in word and deed. Do everything you can think of that she would like done. Help her in every way you can, ‘ and never seem to condemn her ’ conduct or bearing toward you ; but confine yourself to praising, as though she had all the great qualities she *ought* to have, whether she has them or not ; for though, when she first ‘ *sought you, she did bear with rugged dealing of yours, until she had what she fancied, yet now, after satiety and fulness, it (i.e. ‘ rugged dealing.’—F. C.) will rather hurt than help you.*’ Whereas, if you adopt my plan, and stop all public opposition to the course which she now pursues, you will retain the place you have, you will be welcome at Court, your friends will stand by you, you will have no visible enemies, and you will be well-placed to take advantage of anything that may turn up in your favour. Especially do I advise you to say no word against ‘ him,’ for by keeping your mouth shut he will conclude that you have forgotten your grievance and become careless, and will cease to spy on you—when, as a matter of fact, you will only be watching your chance to rush in and defeat him.

“ If, however, you persist in reviling him, you will find that you have only warned him of your real object, with the result that he will be just as much on the watch against you as you are against him—and the Queen will only turn more and more to him, for he will then be in the attitude of a martyr, simply because she has given him precedence over you. This will gradually turn others to his side ; and they will support him

in foiling you by any means in his power. . . 'It is very necessary for you to impart the effect of this with your best and most accounted friends, and most worthy to be so ; for then you shall have their assistance every way ; who, being made privy of your council, will be and ought in honour to be, partners of your fortune.' . . ."

Such is our reading of this letter, omitting only our interpretation of the phrases italicized, in which alone the purity of Elizabeth would at first sight seem involved.

Let us now consider further the origin of this remarkable letter, remarkable for far more than its bearing upon our main Quest. It gives, as does no other single document, the atmosphere of a Court in those days. The only code was that of success—everything and anything that would *win* was in the highest repute. Has there been much change ?

The letter fills less than two sides of a quarto sheet of paper, inserted in a volume in the British Museum. All that is known of the authorship is to be found in these words written on the flyleaf : "Severall papers found in Mr. Dells Study Secretary to Bishop Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury," in a hand different from, and probably about a century later than, any other in the volume. There are 128 pages, numbered only upon one side, while often written on both. There is no printing to be seen, and the contents purport to be copies in a single hand—except in one instance—of scores of state papers of England and several other countries. It would appear that when found, these documents were not bound in any fashion, but were entirely separate. If the description quoted is correct, we know that the work was done prior to 1664, when Dell died. We do not know that the hand is that of Dell. There is no doubt as to the correctness of many and probably all of the transcriptions, except the one that we are examining. That fact is in favour of its authenticity, and we are inclined to admit it as what it pretends to be. That Dell would collect such documents, or have a copy of them seems very likely, for he was a somewhat profuse writer and pamphleteer. He should be remembered for the fact that he urged strenuously—and we believe he is the first man who did so in print—that university education should be open to everybody in every large town in England.

Let us proceed to examine the expressions in this letter which are so critical for Elizabeth's reputation.

The first is that which has been generally taken as meaning that Elizabeth has by her conduct lowered herself "very much" below women of good repute. We confess that our first reading of this phrase—"she do descend very much in her sex as a woman"—gave us the impression stated; but we are now confident that we were mistaken. To our mind, what Dyer intended to convey was: that a dispute by a subject with his monarch is a very different matter from a dispute between two private persons, even when, as in this case, the monarch involved is a woman, and so, because of her sex alone, of less power and prestige than a man in the same position.

The remaining phrases are less susceptible of sure interpretation. Dyer is urging his new policy upon Hatton; that of conciliation and helpfulness, free from the scowls, regrets, and reproaches of the man with a grievance; "For though in the beginning when her Majesty sought you (after her good manner), she did bear with rugged dealing of yours, until she had what she fancied, yet now, after satiety and fullness, it will rather hurt than help you; whereas, behaving yourself as I said before (that is, in the conciliatory manner just recommended) Hatton would be still welcomed at Court, his friends would stand by him, and he would be in a position to keep close watch on the man who had caused his discomfiture."

These are the words that seem the most damning to the reputation of Elizabeth. At first sight, and with no *other* explanation at hand than that indicated by our restricted use of these expressions, we are almost certain to leap to a verdict of guilty beyond a reasonable doubt.

Is there any *innocent* explanation? We must consider the Court of Elizabeth. We must as far as possible transport ourselves across the centuries to a Court in which one person, and that a woman, was *sole* authority, so far as the selection of her advisers, counsellors, and officials was concerned.

We in these days may see something of disgusting intrigues for place. Yet it is *nothing* to what occurred at the Court of Elizabeth, where all the struggle for advancement was concentrated upon one person. By scarcely more than a nod Elizabeth could, and often did, place a man unknown to fame upon the

road that, if he proved worthy, would bring him to the highest place in her service.

At times she bestowed these opportunities upon a total stranger. Some among the greatest of her statesmen, soldiers, and sailors, were thus selected. The first time she saw Blount—later Earl of Devonshire and Lord Mountjoy—he was a lad of twenty, and she a woman of fifty. “Fail not to come to Court, and I will bethink myself how to doe you good”—such was her offer to him. He developed into one of the greatest men of the age.

Can any one acquainted with the political world have any doubt as to what the *losers* said of their successful rivals at Elizabeth’s Court?—or doubt as to what motives would be ascribed to the Queen, leading to their discomfiture? If the successful man had the ill-luck to be young *and* good looking, how much more vitriolic and reckless would be the charges!

The disappointed accused Elizabeth of making a man Lord Chancellor because he danced well; and the quip is still repeated. There have been worse ways of choosing occupants of that once respected office, and there have been very many worse Lord Chancellors than Hatton. She *could* very likely have selected from a room full of dancing lawyers—they were then obliged to be dancers*—whom she had never seen before, the man who would best have filled that post. She would never have been the Great Queen if she could not have come very near doing it.

Take this case of Hatton that will always be cited to her discredit. His place in her Government, besides that of social arbiter as Chamberlain, was that of the compromiser, the man to bring contentious men into accord. When Mary Stuart was to be arraigned, she denied the power of an English tribunal to try a reigning Queen of a foreign nation. The point was so well taken that it could not be met. What was to be done? Could not Mary be led to acknowledge the court’s jurisdiction? That course would solve the difficulty—but who should induce her to make so important a concession? There was only one man in the Government for that task—Hatton—he set about it, and succeeded.

Is the contention possible that Elizabeth could not see from

* Dugdale’s *Orig. Jurid.*, ed. 1680, p. 346.

Hatton's manners at the ball that he was urbane, soft-spoken, considerate, free of swagger, modest, ingratiating (and yet one of the best lances in England), magnetic, well-liked both by men and women—and that such a man would be of great use to her and to his country? She would have been a very ordinary person—and she was never that—if she could not have perceived such qualities, and many others, merely from watching him upon such an occasion. Be that as it may, it is not the important point to recollect, although it is *all* that the world *has* recollected of him—except what we may term the Proud Prelate Story, one of the most famous tales of the Queen. It has been told as truth by nearly all historians :

“ Between 1574 and 1577 Hatton obtained possession of the Bishop of Ely's house in Holborn, after an effort by the latter to fly from a contract made between them, which was speedily silenced by the interference of the queen in the following well-known letter :

“ ‘ Proud Prelate.’ I understand you are backward in complying with your agreement ; but I would have you know that I who made you what you are can unmake you ; and if you do not forthwith fulfil your engagement, by God I will immediately unfrock you.’ ” *

It is a very telling anecdote, and one not out of character ; but it has no other foundation.

The important point to recollect about Hatton's progress is, that Elizabeth tested him for eight years as one of her fifty Gentlemen Pensioners, who were continually at Court, before she gave him his first promotion, when he was raised to be Captain of her Guard. It was only after five years' more service, that she knighted him, made him Vice-Chamberlain of her Household, and a Privy Councillor, in which capacity he would sit as a judge in the most powerful court of the realm, the Star Chamber. It was only after ten years of continuous experience in this position that he was raised to be Lord Chancellor. The money she lent him had to be repaid, even when it impoverished him.

The general belief is that Elizabeth saw him dance, and was so pleased with his grace that she at once made him Lord Chancellor. The intervening *twenty-three years of trial* and

* *Judges of England*, Edward Foss, F.S.A., sub “ Hatton.”

preparation under her own eyes, and his eminent position in all state affairs, are of little moment when romance is to be served.*

Such was Raleigh's history—who, like Essex, was a protégé of Leicester's—if, for the sake of argument, we admit the cloak story as true, which it is not—that is, we have no proof of it. But if it were, are there many readers of these pages who would not have known from the incident that this extravagant young blood was an adventurer by nature, a natural gambler with life, romantic, audacious, reckless, with an eye to the dramatic, a man who would always try to do great and striking things? That is precisely why the story has survived—because the action was so characteristic of the *man*. That is how the story originated—and we defy any reader to deny that he is sorry that there is no other foundation for it. That Raleigh owed his *opportunity*, however, to some such trivial incident we have little doubt.

These lightning judgments of men so characteristic of Elizabeth were invariably marked by an unerring instinct. It is a womanly gift. She could read a man at a glance, and she supported her decision without reservation.

Knowing this habit of hers, can we wonder that there was the fiercest rivalry to be *received by her even for a minute* among the thousands of men who depended upon her and her alone for all their success in life? Hatton had been successful only in a moderate degree at the time of this letter. He was out of favour with Elizabeth when the Dyer-Hatton letter was penned, was no better off six months later, and had not been so for the preceding ten years or more, if we believe Gilbert Talbot. *Somebody* (the letter offers no clue to his identity) had obtained some position that Hatton had had or wanted to have, which we cannot say. *Is there a word in this entire letter, beyond the one sentence which we are examining, to suggest that the position for which these two men were fighting was that of the Queen's*

* "The fortune of Hatton, created Lord Chancellor, was most extraordinary; he was a simple student at Oxford. In the middle of a charming ball which the students had given with much splendour to the Queen, Elizabeth marked a very young man who by his stature and figure surpassed all others; he called himself Christopher Hatton; he had danced with so much grace that the Queen made him come to her; that evening he was named Lord Chamberlain, then Captain of the Guards and finally Lord Chancellor."—*La Reine Vierge Elizabeth d'Angleterre*, p. 161, M. Capefigue, Paris, 1863.

paramour? *Is there any word elsewhere in the letter which could not be consistent with a struggle between these men for many offices in the State?* It appears to us that the answer to both inquiries is in the negative.

What, then, has led the world, or will lead it, to interpret the letter as confined to sexual intrigues? We believe that it is entirely due to two other examples of the euphemism so dear to the English-speaking public. The almost invariable expression among us for illicit relations is "what she wanted," or "what he wanted." In this letter it is said that Elizabeth bore with opposition from Hatton "until she had what she fancied."

The expressions are too much alike to escape confusion, especially in view of the situation exposed by the entire sentence, which relates that she put up with opposition until she had what she fancied, but now that "satiety and fulness" have come, she will no longer be thwarted. That is, to common knowledge, the usual story of sexual passion. The thing to be remembered by us is this—that it is quite as common a story of about everything else that men and women seek eagerly from one another.

"Satiety and fulness" did not three centuries ago mean what we mean by it to-day. We seldom employ it except to signify sexual fatigue or disgust. In the old days of Elizabeth it was seldom used in that sense. At that time it might mean many other things—weariness from being so much in each other's company, from similarity of tastes, the uneventfulness of their lives together, realization that they were utterly unsuited to be daily companions, and so on *ad infinitum*. In other words, "satiety" in those days meant exactly what it meant in the preceding centuries, "a state of being satisfied" by *anything* that would produce that condition.

Now, the Dyer-Hatton letter plainly shows that when Elizabeth "sought" Hatton, she "did bear with . . . rugged dealing" (opposition, obstruction) from him, "until she had what she fancied." What it was that Elizabeth sought from Hatton and he opposed is only to be conjectured. We shall never *know*; but whatever it was—this "what she fancied"—no more "rugged dealing" would she stand from him now that she had had it—and, Dyer goes on to say, rugged dealing by you "will rather hurt than help you."

Is it clear that they are talking of sexual relations? It seems to us that, irrespective of what we shall presently point out—and which we deem decisive—it is extremely doubtful. We see that all this opposition from Hatton could have referred to some course she wished him to adopt in political matters; we can see among the quoted words not one that plainly indicates the contrary.

Is there a word in the rest that forbids us to read it as meaning that after Hatton had met her political wishes, he will only hurt his standing with her by beginning another campaign of opposition against her present favour to somebody else?—because, as she does not now need to ask his assistance, she would not view his opposition with an indulgent eye? It seems to us that that is a very natural position for Dyer to assume.

“Do not oppose her when she wants nothing from you. Save your fish until she throws a hook into your pool. Then, when you know she needs you, bargain with her—what you want against what she wants. Only ask favours of her when she asks them of you. In the meantime, make her think you are so good a subordinate that you will swallow your present disappointment, and do everything in your power to help her in her great task.”

That is our reading of this entire matter, on the reasoning advanced. But there is, to our mind, even more conclusive evidence in support of this view. We refer to the position that, if sexual relations be referred to, the fact is established that *Hatton ruggedly resisted the overtures made by the Queen!*

Any woman of the world will read these words with a smile. She will scarcely believe any such story of a man whose greatest claim in history (as it has been written) is that he was Elizabeth's paramour. Much has been written of Hatton, true and untrue—but nobody has yet suggested that he was a second Joseph. Had that been the case, it could hardly have escaped notice at a time when the widow was jokingly referred to as the only woman who was guiltless.

We leave this Charge with one more incident. It will show the extent to which the Dyer-Hatton letter has been stretched, and how far those who *will* find Elizabeth guilty are prepared to go.

The first man to publish the Dyer-Hatton letter was

Nicholas Harris Nicolas, F.S.A. (afterward Sir Harris Nicolas), in a memoir of Dyer (1826). In this was the extract already quoted from Gilbert Talbot's letter to his father, the Earl of Shrewsbury, dated 11th of May, 1560. Therein it is said :

" Now is there devices (chiefely by Leicester, as I suppose, and not withoute Burghley his knowledge) how to make Mr. Edward Dier as great as ever was Hatton ; for now, in this tyme of Hatton's sicknes, the tyme is convenient. . . . Theise thinges I lerne of suche younge fellowes as my selfe."

This writer was then less than twenty years of age, and we suspect that the more important part of the entire production is in the last sentence thereof. We all know something of the state secrets of the young blades of nineteen hanging about a Court. We must decide for ourselves how much to believe of what a beardless youth at Whitehall says of the most secret policy of the two leading men at Court ; but let us take it as it stands, for that is the way Nicolas treated of it. He says : *

" There can be little doubt that Elizabeth was generally attached to some personal favourite. As she changed the objects of her regard, Burleigh and Leicester endeavoured to attract her affections towards one of their own dependants ; and, if the construction put upon the preceding letter (The Dyer-Hatton letter, which Nicolas has accepted as proof that Elizabeth was guilty.—F. C.) be well founded, it would be difficult to find any other motive for her favour than a sexual one. Hatton we know to have been extremely handsome, and to have excelled in many accomplishments ; but neither he nor Dyer had ever performed any public service worthy of the applause or countenance of their Sovereign. If Elizabeth's virtue, with respect to Hatton, be rendered extremely doubtful by the contents of Dyer's letter to him, it may be inferred, that the attempt of Leicester and Burleigh to make Dyer " as great as ever " the Chamberlain had been, was to have been accomplished in a similar manner."

En passant, we comment on the statement " that neither he (Hatton.—F. C.) nor Dyer had ever performed any public service worthy of the applause or countenance of their sover-

* *The Poetical Rhapsody*, by Francis Davison ; *vide* Dyer's biography by Nicolas, p. lxxv.

eign." Rather, we shall let the writer of the words comment upon them. First, as to Hatton's public service :

" Hatton took a prominent part in all State affairs ; and his opinion on public transactions received great consideration from LORD BURGHLEY, LEICESTER, WALSINGHAM, and all the other Ministers. He was for many years what is now termed the Leader of the House of Commons ; and if he did not adorn the Woolsack, to which he was unexpectedly raised, by great legal learning, he had the modesty and good sense to consult eminent lawyers in cases of magnitude, and obtained the respect of the public by the equity and impartiality of his decisions. Unlike that of many great legal luminaries of his age, his own conduct was pure with respect to bribes. . . ." *

This last was written nineteen years after the first conclusion that Hatton was not worthy of any recognition by Elizabeth, and therefore that his preferment was due to his sexual attractions. Certainly it was not Nicolas's mental attractions that led to his preferment by *his* lady sovereign ! We refrain, as he was a member of the Society of Antiquaries, from imputing another motive for *his* advancement.

No less biting a comment can be reserved for what he says of Dyer on *the last page of the very biography in which he states that Dyer was unworthy of Elizabeth's applause or countenance* :

" It is not too much to attribute to him a superior understanding ; for he was evidently shrewd, calculating, and prudent. His judgment appears to have been sound and penetrating ; and the perspicuity with which he conveys to others the opinions he had formed, as well as the reasons upon which they were founded, display no common ability. His advice to Hatton on the subject of his conduct towards the Queen, is not overrated, if it be described as a master-piece of policy. With proofs then, that Dyer possessed the favour of his sovereign, and the good opinion of her two most powerful ministers ; that he was esteemed by Sir Philip Sydney, . . . that he was considered in a respectable light as a poet ; that he occasionally filled confidential offices, and was in every respect looked upon as deserving of all which he acquired, it is not too high . . . to conclude this account of him by saying, that he was equal in

* *Memoirs of the Life and Times of Sir Christopher Hatton, K.G., by Sir Harry Nicolas, G.C.M.G.*

talents, attainments, and moral worth, to most, and superior to many of his contemporaries."

After this astonishing exhibition, we must apologize for further troubling the reader with anything advanced by this writer; but we must revert to his statement beginning: "There can be little doubt that Elizabeth was generally attached to some personal favourite." Nicolas says that if we believe his interpretation of the Dyer-Hatton letter—*i.e.* that Elizabeth was guilty—then this letter from Gilbert Talbot can only mean that Burleigh and Leicester, as Elizabeth "changed the objects of her regard," "endeavoured" to attract her affections through a sexual motive to one of their own dependants; as Dyer and Hatton had never done anything worthy of Elizabeth's regard, the conclusion is obvious; and as the Dyer-Hatton letter shows that Hatton's position was due to his sexual relations with the Queen, so "it may be inferred that the attempt of Leicester and Burleigh to make Dyer as great as ever the Chamberlain (Hatton.—F. C.) had been, was to have been accomplished in a similar manner."

As to this, it may be observed that Nicolas's argument has a shifting foundation, for this Gilbert letter, dated May, 1573, says 'as your Lordship knoweth, he (Hatton.—F. C.) hath been in displeasure these eleven years.' Now this letter cannot be employed both ways by Nicolas. It is worthy of credit or it is not. It certainly cannot be used to prove that *Dyer* was to be advanced through his sexual attraction to the Queen, when that proof is dependent upon the Dyer-Hatton letter as a precedent showing that *Hatton* had only attained *his* success in that manner—because the former letter says that Hatton "hath been in displeasure these eleven years." If this is true, the Queen and Hatton certainly had not been illicitly intimate for that length of time. Eleven years would take us back to 1562, two years before Hatton came to Court as one of the fifty Gentlemen Pensioners of the sovereign. It follows that Hatton had never been in carnal relations with the Queen when either the Dyer-Hatton letter or the Gilbert Talbot letter was written—and so the entire case of not only Dyer but Hatton also falls to the ground.

Yet Nicolas presses his outlandish accusation against Leicester and Burghley. It is projected in all seriousness, in

face of the fact that Leicester was closer to the Queen than was any other man from the time when they were both eight years of age until his death when they were fifty-five. He is supposed to be one of two *procureurs*, he whose single alleged claim to Elizabeth's regard, and therefore the only means by which he maintained his place as the most splendid figure of her Court, lay in his illicit relationship with her ; he, we say, is now solemnly accused of finding other men to enjoy what he had had for so long and still possessed ! Yet the crowning gem is a similar reflection upon BURGHLEY ! He, of all men, who has come unscathed through all contemporary and subsequent records so far as women are concerned—and we cannot say the same of many—is also a *procureur* !

7. CHARGE 18.—A love letter from Hatton, 5th June, 1573, written from the Continent, whither he had gone for convalescence from the illness mentioned in the Gilbert Talbot letter, written less than a month before. The following shows to what an extent Hatton adopted the course of conciliation toward the Queen that Dyer had recommended to him in the Dyer-Hatton Letter. That advice had been “to use your suits towards her Majesty in words . . . acknowledge your duty, declaring the reverence which in heart you bear, and . . . joyfully . . . to commend such things as should be in her, as though they were in her indeed.” Certainly Dyer could not complain that he had not an apt pupil, if he ever saw the letter containing these words :

“If I could express my feelings of your gracious letters, I should utter unto you matter of strange effect. In reading of them, with my tears I blot them. . . . Death had been much more my advantage than to win health and life by so loathsome a pilgrimage. . . . Madam, I find the greatest lack that ever poor wretch sustained. No death, no, not hell, no fear of death shall ever win of me my consent so far to wrong myself again as to be absent from you one day . . . I lack that I live by . . . to serve you is a heaven, but to lack you is more than hell's torment unto them. My heart is full of woe. . . . I will wash away the faults of these letters with the drops from your poor Lydds and so inclose them. Would God I were with you but for one hour. My wits are overwrought with thoughts. I find myself amazed. Bear with me, my most

dear sweet Lady. Passion overcometh me. I can write no more. Love me ; for I love you. . . . Live for ever. Shall I utter this familiar term (farewell) ? yea, ten thousand thousand farewells. He speaketh it that most dearly loveth you. . . .
 “Your bondman everlastingly tied.”

This letter has been strenuously insisted upon as proof that Elizabeth and its author were guilty of carnal relations. It is advanced that its expressions cannot possibly refer to an innocent affection.

As we read it, it certainly seems a letter that Hatton would wish to have destroyed. All that can be said in his excuse is, that he had for months before been dangerously ill, that he was not *persona grata* to the fountain of all success, and that he had been suddenly forgiven his fault, whatever it was, and sent to the Continent, accompanied by the Queen's physician, to get well. The chances are, too, that she paid all the bills, for soon afterwards we find her paying debts of his.

In weighing this letter, we must note that it should not stand alone, for we have three others written by Hatton to Elizabeth while he was abroad on this search for health, during some months. The first of these three is dated twelve days after the one already quoted. The only passages of affection are these :

“The time is (as it were) hallowed with me, wherein I may in this sort exercise my devotion towards you and ease the travails of my mind, which I continually find too much overburdened with the fears and cares that affection layeth upon it. Let it not, therefore, with you, Madam, be labour and trouble to read these rude lines, that proceed from me with so pure and noble a thought. I fear you will be offended with my boldness, but I know you will excuse me in your goodness. I fear you will mislike that I find no other matter to discourse unto you : in good faith, if I could find a more worthy action, I would deliver it unto you ; but accept this, Madam, for in the world (above this) there is nothing. This is the twelfth day since I saw the brightness of that Sun that giveth light unto my sense and soul. I wax an amazed creature. Give me leave, Madam, to remove myself out of this irksome shadow, so far as my imagination with these good means may lead me towards you, and let me thus salute you : Live for ever, most excellent

creature ; and love some man, to shew yourself thankful for God's high labour in you. . . . But, Madam, forget not your Lidds that are so often bathed with tears for your sake. A more wise man may seek you, but a more faithful and worthy can never have you. . . .

“ Yours all and ever yours.”

“ Live forever . . . *and love some man.* . . . A more wise man may seek you, but a more faithful and worthy can never have you.” Is this the language of a man who has been criminally intimate with the woman to whom it is addressed ? “ I fear you will be offended with my boldness,” he writes—his boldness in telling her of his affection. Would a man who had carnally known a woman ever think, much less write, that after such intimacy she would be “ offended with my boldness ” at telling her that he had an affection for her ?

The only sensible conclusion to which an unprejudiced mind can arrive is, that Hatton's cry to her to “ *love some man.* . . . *A more wise man may seek you, but a more faithful and worthy can never have you,*” is almost certain evidence that Elizabeth never had loved *any* man, that Hatton was seeking to make her love *him*, but without success. “ *Love some man* ”—would Hatton, who had been at Court for nearly ten years as one of Elizabeth's most immediate entourage, have written such an appeal *if she had ever loved before, or loved any man then ?* It is inconceivable.

The third of these letters contains no phrases to guide us except these :

“ I pray God, you may believe my faith. It is the testament of your greatest excellencies. It might glad you (I speak without presumption), that you live so dearly loved with all sincerity of heart and singleness of choice. I love yourself. I cannot lack you . . . you are the true felicity that in this world I know or find.

“ Your slave and Ever your own.”
(Undated.)

The fourth and last letter is dated the 10th of August, and only the following is important to us :

“ I trust with discretion to correct all frail humour. Give your pardon of things bypast, and I will even it by amendments

to follow. The contentment of mind you give me doth most of all re-cure me. By your great bounty and most liberal charge I purchase life and health withal. By your oft messengers, carriers of your endless cares for my recovery's sake, I enjoy so great a comfort in life as never God hath blessed man withal before. . . . God save your life for ever, and bless you with His glorious thanks for your divine merits towards me your so poor and discomforted despairing servant. My dear Lady, I amend. . . . I find cause to think that much greater effects will follow. . . . Upon the knees of my heart I most humbly commend my most faithful love and service unto you. Adieu, most dear sweet Lady. . . .

"All and EveR yours, your most happy bondman,
"LYDDES." *

We find no suggestion of immorality here. We interpret the extracts as demonstrating that Elizabeth is doing all she can to make this sick servant well. She sends him frequent messengers, she sees that he has enough money, and she assures him that she will care for his future. *Elizabeth invariably* did this for all who gave their entire time to the State. It is an example that is pursued by nearly all the great families of England toward those who have given similar devotion to them and theirs. That is one of the chief glories of England. It is, also, one of the chief incentives through which unselfish service may be secured by those in high place.

8. CHARGE 25.—We are now to examine the last of these eight accusations, which we think worthy of detailed analysis. It is that of Cardinal Allen, the treacherous English Catholic who fled to the Continent, and spent thirty-five years of his life in endeavouring to bring England back to the fold of Rome, even by its subjection to a foreign Power.

It is needless to repeat the monstrous crimes detailed against Elizabeth by this most bitter of her Catholic enemies, in this appeal to his Catholic countrymen urging them to rise against her when the Armada landed its armies on English soil. All the Catholic world was engaged in the attempt; and to Allen was allotted the character he had played for a lifetime, that of the traitor who would egg on Elizabeth's countrymen to stab her in the back while she met the foe in front.

* All these letters are in Hatton's biography by Nicolas, pp. 26-30.

Allen made the mistake that so many others have made before and since, *i.e.* of not knowing that the time when ENGLAND is attacked is the only time when Englishmen will attain some measure of cohesion—to be abandoned the moment the danger is past. The violence of the language they hurl at one another over petty matters in time of peace, is something that the foreigner cannot comprehend. He is sure that they hate one another ; and perhaps they do ; until they find in danger the country which allows them this freedom of speech. Then they become the best of friends.

Allen, English though he was, was entirely mistaken. For him to abuse their Queen when she was being attacked—for SHE stood for England—was to drive them into *her* ranks, exactly in proportion to the violence of his invective. Not a Catholic in the realm—and Heaven knows they had reason enough to rebel—rose in response to Allen's renegade trumpet. They only put on their armour to support Elizabeth. England against the world !

This pamphlet of Allen's is a sink of filth. We refrain from descending into it. It is not worth a line of refutation. If our readers do not agree, there is no use in presenting to them any evidence whatever that tends to establish the innocence of Elizabeth. Evidence is of no value to people whose minds are capable of such conclusions. If they condemn Elizabeth upon Allen's testimony as he delivers it, condemned she must remain.

Such is the case against Elizabeth, as history shows it, so far as any *direct* and *specific* charges are concerned. If *direct* testimony be demanded before we convict, it is all in the foregoing pages. We know no other—nor does any other historian, so far as he has disclosed it.

CHAPTER X

THE INDIRECT CHARGES AGAINST ELIZABETH

WE now approach the secondary charges against Elizabeth. They are very important, perhaps more important than the direct accusations, for, since the case against the Queen is lacking in *convincing* evidence of her guilt, the world has always been greatly biased by general statements. The nature of these deadly, but illusive, weapons we have already indicated, and answered to some extent—but they deserve a fuller statement.

The roundabout attack upon Elizabeth is, in sum, through men whom she honoured. It is now generally believed—and the public, as we shall show, *could* not possibly have arrived at any other verdict—that they were unworthy to fill the places to which she raised them. Even to-day the attack goes on. Leicester is only “a pleasant plaything”* of Elizabeth. Upon another page of as pretentious an historical work as Englishmen have produced during the last fifty years, Leicester is stigmatized as “worthless,”† and this in the very face of the author’s own mention, elsewhere in the same volume, that Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador, characterized Leicester as the “manager of affairs” of the Court, and that undisputedly great minister, Walsingham, as Leicester’s “spirit.”‡ Other ambassadors reported that Leicester and not Burghley managed affairs.

As a rule, if those who have written in this vein do not actually say so, they leave their readers to infer what they *must* infer, *i.e.*, that incompetents and nincompoops held high

* *The Political History of England*, vol. vi., p. 240.

† *Idem*, p. 237.

‡ *Idem*, p. 344.

positions through their Queen's inordinate affection for them—and the large majority of men and all women have become convinced that this affection was not of an innocent character. Those who have not been so convinced have adopted the only possible alternative—that she thought too highly of these incompetents to dismiss them.

I am not certain which, from a moral point of view, is the worse of the two accusations—but I have no doubt at all that Elizabeth would much more hotly have resented the latter, for she was used to the former charge, like all women who ever ruled ; but had it reached her ears that she failed in her *duty* to England, there would have been such an explosion as her history fails to record.

It is, however, precisely to this that both these charges amount ; and all history is unanimous in praise of Elizabeth's love for her country and her people. History cannot have it both ways. If she put incompetent men into positions of the greatest responsibility, she loved those men more than she did England or its people. If Leicester was the man history represents him to be, if she, a woman of fifty-two, placed him, a man of the same age, in command of the most important expedition she ever sent out, that to the Low Countries—and three years later placed him at the head of the only defence England had on shore if the Armada could land its armies—then she loved Leicester more than she loved England, and it is useless to call her strong, and she did not really care for her people. There is no escape from this conclusion.

Yet the explanation is at hand—as it has always been at hand. There can be no two opinions about it when the documents are presented.

The whole misconception lies, primarily, in the fact that there has been *no life of Leicester*. He has had *no* defence, and for three hundred years has been the target of *ex parte* attack.

The explanation is, of course, that Leicester *was no fool*. The same explanation applies to the other gentlemen who have come down to posterity as utterly dependent on Elizabeth's affections, legitimate or illegitimate. No one of them was a fool. Each of them was of exceptional ability, and quite worthy of every place entrusted to him by his monarch.

1. LEICESTER.—Let us consider in some particular the closest friend Elizabeth ever had ; he who, with the sole exception of Burghley, was for the longest time in her most intimate counsels. Leicester was tall, distinguished-looking, magnificent in dress, a huntsman, a noted horseman, one of the most skilful lances in the kingdom, a most learned man, and a renowned soldier before he was twenty-five, when he was master of ordnance in Philip's army in Picardy. He was Master of the Royal Buckhounds at eighteen, under Edward VI., and from 1572 to his death sixteen years later. In him was the blood of the first families of England, the Beauchamps, Talbots, Greys, Berkeleys, and Lisles. He was the son of the most powerful duke in the country in the reign of King Edward, that Northumberland who went to the block for placing his daughter-in-law, Lady Jane Grey, on the throne.

The entire family was thrown into the Tower, and sentenced to death, besides being attainted, but, as their liberty was restored, Robert and his brother Henry redeemed the family name in Flanders at the siege of St. Quentin, the former with his bravery, the latter with his life ; and the survivors were restored. Robert and Queen Elizabeth were of the same age, some say even to the day and hour.

He was a man of great energy and activity. He would also appear to have been the greatest business man of his time. He owned mines and mills and great forests. He alone could export woollens. He had the monopoly of all sweet wines. He was a patriot of that rare kind who are always ready to contribute large sums of money to advance the fortunes of England. He was the leader of that band of great soldiers and sailors who believed that England could defeat the world. He gave himself for a lifetime to the affairs of Elizabeth. In return, she gave him great wealth, many times as much as she ever allotted to another ; but sooner or later the greater part of it returned to her service ; any loans she made him had to come back to her, even after his death.

Upon him devolved the expensive and important duty of entertaining the great visitors to Elizabeth's Court. When she was ill, it was to him, as a rule, that the ambassadors came for audience. He and the Duke of Norfolk were the only Englishmen to receive the French Order of St. Michael, and he was

France's chief friend at Elizabeth's Court during his whole career. Proud, perhaps vain, and enthusiastic, he could still be subordinate, and work with a will to carry out a policy he did not approve, if ordered by the proper authority.

He was sumptuous in his generosity. He founded and endowed a hospital which exists unto this day. When Elizabeth would not pay the troops she had sent him to command in the Low Countries, he took nearly all the money he had in the world (about the equivalent of £100,000 in money of to-day) and devoted it to that purpose. He offered to pay the expenses of an expedition to Holland. He gave the Low Countries thousands more to keep them going in their life and death struggle with Spain.

Who sent Drake round the world? The war party in Elizabeth's cabinet. Who headed that party for over twenty-five years before it could drive Elizabeth and Burghley into opening a fight on Spain? Leicester was that man. Who provided the money for Drake's voyage? Leicester and the Queen were the heaviest contributors. Leicester's party gave the balance. From whom was the knowledge of the coming voyage most carefully kept so that he could not try to frustrate it? Burghley, whose whole efforts were directed to keeping peace with Spain.*

Who got the Queen at last to make that open break with Spain which even Philip could not afford to take lying down, *i.e.* the expedition of a great army to Flanders to aid the Protestant rebels? Leicester. It was then that the Spanish Ambassador in his rage describes him as "the manager of affairs," † and Walsingham as his "spirit."

Who above all others was the power that had the execution of Mary Stuart for its object?—one of the most successful strokes of Elizabeth's policy—Leicester—and he was the sole

* "Drake . . . on December 13, 1577, started on his famous voyage round the world with the secret connivance of the war party in Elizabeth's cabinet. The circumnavigation of the globe was in fact incidental to the main object of breaking up the Spanish monopoly of the Pacific. . . . There was also a sinister motive behind. . . . According to Drake's own statement, the queen had forbidden any revelation of the voyage to Burghley, who wished to avoid the risk of an open breach with Spain; and Drake felt that he had been encouraged by Leicester and Walsingham in order that his aggression might frustrate Burghley's efforts for peace."—*Polit. Hist. of England*, vol. vi. p. 319, by Prof. A. F. Pollard, Univ. Coll., Lond.

† *The Political History of England*, vol. vi. p. 344.

originator of the famous Association (1584) of the nobility and gentry of England sworn to defend Elizabeth's person against the Catholic party's new policy, whose chief principle was the assassination of the Queen of England. To this device of Leicester's Elizabeth probably owed her life. The Association also gave the death-blow to Catholicism as a powerful force in England, for every Catholic could read what lay behind the phrases which bound the best blood of England to "withstand and revenge to the uttermost all such malicious actions . . . and never (to) desist from all manner of forcible pursuit of such persons to the utter destruction of such persons, their counsellors, aiders, and abettors." Camden says flatly that Leicester founded the Association.* The language and style of the document itself is almost certainly that of Leicester himself. Burghley never wrote so plain-spoken, ferocious a document in his life. The style and words are different from anything we know him to have penned. Yet Froude ascribes to Burghley not only the forming of the Association, but the very language in which it appears !

Will anybody to-day question the wisdom or the success of Leicester's view ?

Who was the leading Protestant in the Queen's counsels ?—Leicester. Who was the leading Puritan at her Court ?—Leicester.

Did Burghley ever promote any policy except that of continuing to hold that which was already in hand ? There are times when that is good statesmanship ; and there are other occasions when it is folly. Such a time, for England, was the latter half of the sixteenth century.

The whole world was in a ferment. The old Powers were in the eclipse. There was only one with its face set toward the sunrise—England. To pursue the Burghley policy was to keep England for ever the insignificant country she had always been up to that time.

Leicester, Walsingham, Raleigh, Drake, and his great companions, were not satisfied with that. They were imbued with

* " . . . very many of all degrees of men throughout England, by Leicester's means, . . . bound themselves in a certain association by their mutuall vowes, subscriptions and seales, to prosecute with their whole might even to death, those that should attempt anything against the Queen."—*Camden*, 1630 ed., p. 36, under 1585.

the belief that the English could beat Spain, then the leader of the world. They believed that the new ships of England, her first navy, with their greater celerity and ease of handling, could conquer any ships afloat, irrespective of numbers.

Burghley was the drag on the wheel of this progressive policy. It was risky. There he was right. It was safer to play the game in his way. There again he was right. He believed England would disappear if she did not secure allies. Leicester, Walsingham, and Drake believed that England would disappear if she *did* secure allies. They believed that England could stand alone. Burghley was wrong, if England was to become the leading Power of the world when she had the chance. Were Leicester and his fellow adventurers—freebooters and pirates, if you will—mistaken in their judgment, England would go down in the struggle into which they were trying to push their sovereign and her conservative minister. These hot bloods were prepared to take the risk.

Again and again Leicester, Walsingham, Raleigh, and all the rest of the swashbucklers, succeeded in inducing the most frugal monarch England ever had to advance money to help them in equipping naval attacks on Spain, and her rich argosies from the New World. The ventures were usually successful, and most richly rewarded with booty. Those who financed Drake received back their original investment, with a dividend of one hundred per cent. On his voyage round the world, he collected the equivalent of over £5,000,000 in modern money, the great bulk of which went into Elizabeth's coffers.

No wonder that Leicester and Drake found their influence with Elizabeth on the increase! One desperate contest after another ended in British victory—and profit—until the Queen began to believe the enthusiastic assertion of that wild, cheering crowd which had almost compelled her to help them against her will, that nothing could beat the English sailor in an English ship.

Burghley never once contributed a shilling to one of the great dashes across the seas. Leicester and his shouting followers advanced their fortunes—sometimes mortgaging their estates to secure the money. Leicester did this to help Elizabeth begin the Netherlands expedition. Elizabeth could not

fail to see that men who would go to such lengths time after time were in earnest, were confident, were competent—for they had been successful.

At the *wrong* time, Leicester and Drake would have *ruined* England; but they were acting at the *right* time, and with the assistance and countenance of the Queen they *made* England—against the steady opposition of Burghley. He fought every step of their programme.* Yet, thanks to Froude, it is to him that all the praise is attributed of what his opponents accomplished. There the matter, however, should not be permitted to rest. We have no doubt that Burghley, with his over-cautious, timorous, conservative temperament, was placed exactly where he was to delay the Leicester-Drake combination until the *right time* came. We have so much faith in God.

There is another side of Leicester's life to unfold. Who was the first man to receive a licence for the performance of plays in this country? Can one of our readers answer? Leicester. His band of players was organized the year after Elizabeth was enthroned, and he maintained them all his life. Who was at the head of that band?—the first stock company in English history—James Burbage, the first man to build a theatre in England. It was, indeed, for that reason, called merely "The Theatre." That was twenty years before he built the Blackfriars and the Globe. "Many famous men had been enabled to pursue their studies through Leicester's beneficence." †

Roger Ascham—and there is no higher authority—often spoke of the remarkable literary ability of Leicester. The letters of Leicester bear witness to it, and to the man's tremendous driving-power. They are the most forcible letters of his time.

He was the patron of Philip Sidney, of Raleigh, of Essex, of Dyer, *et als*. Writers and poets sang of him more than of any other man. Here is Spenser's tribute :

* "Leicester . . . Paulet . . . Mildmay . . . and Walsingham . . . had favoured aggression, and had championed Drake against the more conservative school of politicians represented by Burghley."—*Polit. Hist. of England*, vol. vi. p. 411, by Prof. A. F. Pollard, Univ. Coll., Lond.

† Geoffrey-Whitney (1586) in his dedication to Leicester of his *Choice of Emblemes*.

A mightie prince, of most renowned race,
Whom England high in count of honour held,
And greatest ones did sue to gain his grace,
Of greatest ones, he greatest in his place,
Sate in the bosome of his souveraine,
And *right and loyale* did his word maintaine.

Who saved Oxford University when it had been wrecked by the Reformations of Religion which had followed one another so rapidly that no man dared proclaim his faith until he had looked at the calendar? Leicester,* who was its chancellor for a quarter of a century, until his death, only a month after he had witnessed in the destruction of the Armada the justification of the opinions and struggles of a lifetime. He lived just long enough to see his dreams come true, England leading the world, and his Faerie Queene leading England. He must have died with great thankfulness that he had lived unto that glorious day. Every hope he had held out to Elizabeth had been fulfilled.

Who gave Oxford University its first printing press? Leicester.† Where would this country have been if Leicester's great rival, Burghley, the typical Cecil, then as now, had had *his* ideas about learning adopted? The reader, we believe, has not heretofore had the benefit of reading this view of the

* In the first book ever printed at Oxford University, according to Strype, the author, Case, gives this among several reasons advanced for dedicating the work to Leicester:

" . . . Secondly, Another reason of this dedication was, that extraordinary love towards the university, which his coming to them had greatly confirmed. . . . And then he bringeth the founders of the colleges making their congratulatory speeches to the earl, as the great restorer and preserver of their foundations; 'Thanking him for his well deserving toward that University. That he had twice or thrice preserved all things there going to decay, immortal thanks for that: and that the same being preserved, he had confirmed with many and great privileges obtained, they rendered him still greater thanks.' "

Anthony à Wood, Oxford's first historian, after relating how the Fellows and scholars had left, or been driven away by the persecutions of the various Reformations, says, of 1561, "The University became empty. . . . Exercises also were seldom performed, and Proceeders consequently were few. In the Act last year was none (2) in Divinity and but one in the Civil Law, three in Physic and eight in Arts, and in the Act this year not one, (3) in Divinity, Law or Physic." Of the year 1563 "This year a violent Plague broke out, being the dregs of last year's mischief, dispersing those that were remaining in the University. . . ." In 1564, the chronicler writes: "Such means were now and the year after used by the care of the new Chancellor, the Earl of Leycester, that nothing was wanting to the recovery of the University, now and of late fell into great decay."

† Cf. *Oxford Books*, by F. Madan, Bodley's Librarian: ". . . it (the Oxford University Press) was placed on a permanent footing by the Earl of Leicester."

man who has been credited with all Elizabeth's brains. In 1575 Burghley wrote to our old friend, the Earl of Shrewsbury, to say that he hoped the Earl's son would not develop "any curiosity of human learning . . . which I see doeth great hurt to all youth in this time and age." * Nothing could more clearly betray the unbridgable gulf between Leicester and Burghley, and between the men whom they respectively represented. It was the New against the Old. Burghley should not be blamed. He could be no different from what he was. Nor have the most of his descendants changed to any great extent. Only lately, during the Great War, a Cecil informed the Commons that a labouring man is fitted neither by temperament nor training to handle foreign affairs, and that government cannot be carried on except by people of leisure. Such ignorance of what is everywhere taking place to disprove such sentiments is inconceivable, except in those brought up to believe that God has set aside for children of the titled a special class of soul.

With one word more, we may dismiss Leicester. This word is important, because of its source. It is from that remarkable publication, the *Cambridge Modern History* :

"The conservative nobles, with whom Burghley usually, though not invariably, acted, and the party of Leicester and the growing Puritan element, had alternately gained the upper hand in the English counsels, as Elizabeth's fears of Catholic solidarity waxed and waned." †

We have further amplified this new point in the Introduction, quoting very important authorities who should not be ignored.

That is a fair statement of what took place. Elizabeth carried on her Government by the party system. We have developed no improvement thereupon. The boldness of Leicester needed the check of Burghley's caution. The caution of Burghley required the boldness of Leicester. It was an organized warfare between the two parties, a contest deliberately promoted by their common sovereign. If a conservative died, a conservative replaced him, by the Queen's command. If

* *Talbot Papers*, vol. P., fol. 745.

† *Camb. Mod. Hist.*, vol. iii. p. 491. Cf. Algernon Cecil in Introduction, *ante*.

a radical of the Leicester type disappeared, one of his belief filled his shoes, by the royal decree. Elizabeth needed the strength of them all. Her position was above both. In their zeal to triumph one over the other she knew that the truth would be made manifest, and it was the truth that she sought to learn.

Yet Leicester has come down to us as a fool. The verdict can no longer stand investigation. To those who think otherwise we commend the following from Congreve and Professor Beesley. England has had no better historical scholars.

“Connected with these personal relations of Elizabeth,” says Congreve,* “much has been written, and the general result has been to obscure and lower her character. When the assaults have not been made openly on the Queen herself, her favourites have been attacked, so that the blame thrown on them must in some measure rebound on her. I will, therefore, take two of the names that have been put forward with the greatest prominence, with the indirect consequence of damaging Elizabeth. . . . It seems almost the unanimous judgment of history, that Leicester was a bad and incompetent man, the disgrace of the mistress he served. It is very difficult, at least I have as yet found it so, to arrive at a satisfactory result in estimating Leicester. He was nearly thirty years a leading member of Elizabeth’s Council; he was employed by her as her lieutenant in the Low Countries, and on his return from thence as lieutenant-general of the army of defence, he was selected by her as the husband of the Queen of Scots. To this political he added great personal favour. If Leicester was such as he has been generally painted, it must be a slur on the Queen’s judgment. The general presumption is in favour of the soundness of her judgment, so that there is a primary ground for distrust of the traditional view. Again, she was quick-eared in catching the voice of popular opinion. It seems to me difficult to reconcile with this the language she used when addressing her troops at Tilbury. Had he been so generally despised, such language would have made her ridiculous. He had known her since she was eight years old; he had interested her deeply. ‘She ever loved his virtues, but she could not take a subject for her husband.’ This explains her partiality; and records of the time so far as I have seen them, and speaking under correction when the documents shall

* *Historical Lectures*, Richard Congreve, p. 350.

have been fully searched, do not furnish any ground for thinking that Burghley or Walsingham thought her partiality misplaced or absurd. I find Walsingham writing to him as to one whose opinion he valued, and whose political influence was used entirely aright for the service of their common country. I find, what is more, Burghley anxious that Leicester should take the command in the Netherlands, the most important trust committed to any subject of Elizabeth abroad. It is answered to this, that Burghley was Leicester's enemy, and planned this command to disgrace him, knowing him incompetent. But when Elizabeth was thoroughly angry with Leicester's acceptance of the sovereignty offered to him by the States, the Council of England supported him and tried to appease her anger. There are no traces of this enmity of Burghley to which the general interest of the State is assumed to be sacrificed. Lastly, I find a letter of Lord North's to Lord Burghley, in the year 1588, the following language, which might well make us hesitate to subscribe to the common judgment :—'The untimely death of that noble Earle of Lester is a great and generale loss to the whole land, and cannot but be generally and greatly lamented of the good and best sorte. In his life he advanced the glory of God, and loyally served his sovereign ; he lived and died with honour, in speciale grace and favor of her Majestie and the good subject.' I will not go further than a negative judgment. I will not endeavour to make out that he was a great statesman and man ; but I have said enough, I think, to show that it is probable that he was not the reverse. He is, unless I mistake, another instance of the success of unsparing abuse. He was obnoxious to the Catholics in a special degree, and they have repaid him by free calumny. He was also, apparently, as a Puritan leader, obnoxious to the church party, and from them also he has suffered. There are instances also of a violent and overbearing assertion of his personal feelings which have justly exposed him to reproach. But more than this, I cannot think proved. As a whole, the common judgment bears to me the stamp of improbability. If I must choose one or other of the conflicting opinions, I should range myself with most confidence on the side of Elizabeth."

Professor Beesly, the typical university professor, will be unknown to posterity because teaching his subject and not writing it was his vocation. He appears to have done everything to avoid advertisement. Although he had occupied so

high a position—second to none—in English university circles—his only description upon the title-page of his life of Elizabeth is his name. He was then Professor Emeritus of History at University College, London, following thirty-three years in the chair. There could be no higher forum from which to put forth his work.

“Elizabeth,” says he, “it is my firm conviction, never loved Dudley or any other man in any sense of the word, high or low. She had neither a tender heart nor a sensuous temperament. . . . I have said that he (Leicester) was not a man of great ability. But neither was he the empty-headed, incapable trifler that some writers have depicted him. He was not so judged by his contemporaries. That Elizabeth, because she liked him, would have selected a man of notorious incapacity to command her armies, both in the Netherlands and when the Armada was expected, is one of those hypotheses that do not become more credible by being often repeated. Cecil himself, when it was not a question of the marriage—of which he was a determined opponent—regarded him as a useful servant of the Queen.” *

It is also an interesting fact that he and his successor, Professor Pollard, are no more in accord about one of the most important episodes of Leicester’s career, *i.e.* his being offered by Elizabeth to Mary Queen of Scots as a husband who would be entirely satisfactory from the former’s point of view. Professor Pollard † says of this :

“The plan can hardly have been serious.”

Pollard’s predecessor in the great chair of University College says ‡ :

“[Elizabeth] formally recommended Lord Robert Dudley.

“This has often been treated as if it was a sorry joke perpetrated by Elizabeth, who never had any intention of furthering or even permitting such a match. But nothing is more certain than that Elizabeth was most anxious to bring it about ; and it affords a decisive proof that her feeling for Dudley, whatever name she herself may have put to it, was not what is usually called love. Cecil and all her intimate advisers entertained no doubt that she was sincere. She undertook, if Mary

* *Queen Elizabeth*, Edward Spencer Beesly, p. 41.

† *Polit. Hist. of England*, vol. vi. p. 329.

‡ *Queen Elizabeth*, Edward Spencer Beesly, p. 50.

would accept Dudley, to make him a duke ; and, in the meantime, she created him Earl of Leicester. She regarded him, so she told Mary's envoy Melville, as her brother and her friend ; if he was Mary's husband she would have no suspicion or fear of any usurpation before her death, being assured that he was so loving and trusty that he would never permit anything to be attempted during her time."

An illuminative sidelight upon these contending views is the following extract from a letter of Burghley to his closest friend Sir Thomas Smith, then ambassador in Paris :

" . . . she (Elizabeth) contynueth hir desyre to have my L. of Lecicester preferred that waye (to marry Mary) for which purpoos ther was this last month a metyng at Barwyk with my Lord of Murray and the Lord of Ledyngton, but yet coverered with other matters : and now of late it is from thence renewed, to know with what conditions the Queens Majesty will preferr hym : . . .

" I see the Qn. Maty. very desyroos to have my L. of Leicester placed in this high degree to be the Scottish Queen's husband, . . . " *

We can only observe that if the mass of documents pertaining to this negotiation do not show that Elizabeth was " serious," she never can be proved " serious " about anything.

2. HATTON.—We have but little to add to what we have said concerning this man. The story that he was made Lord Chancellor of England because he danced well survives with the other legends, which, as we have said before, are practically all that the great reading public knows of Elizabeth. That the only authority for the story is, upon examination, found to be no authority for it, is unavailing. The tale will go marching down the ages. It is too late to stop it. It is in too many histories and other works. It is quoted in dramas, it appears on the cinemetagraph screen, it is told in novels and in the classroom. It cannot be effectively denied.

Yet all that the chroniclers of the time said was, that Hatton first came to Court through having attracted the Queen by his dancing or other social qualities. By the end of the

* *Orig. Lett.*, Ellis, 2nd Ser., vol. ii. p. 294. Cecil to Smith, 30th Dec., 1564.

nineteenth century they were universally quoted as having said that Elizabeth saw him dance, and made him Lord Chancellor ; and, for the sake of consistency, he has been libelled and belittled upon every hand.

Now all that Naunton said is this :

“ Sir Christopher Hatton came to the court as his opposit : (That is, opponent.—F. C.) Sir John Perrot was wont to say by the Galliard, for he came thither as a private gentleman of the Innes of Court in a maske ; and for his activity, and person, which was tall, and proportionable, taken into her favor : . . . ” *

Camden writes as follows :

“ Born he was of a Family more ancient then wealthy in Northamptonshire. Being young, and of a comely Talness of Body and amiable Countenance, he got into such Favour with the Queen, that she took him into her Band of 50 Gentlemen Pensioners, and, afterwards, for his modest sweetness of Conditions, into the number of the Gentlemen of her Privy Chamber, made him Captain of her Guard, Vice-Chamberlain, and one of her Privy Councill, and lastly made him Lord Chancellour of England, and honoured him with the Order of Saint George.” †

On this authority alone, Hatton has been held up to obloquy ; but they who enjoyed doing so should have called to the attention of their readers further statements of these two famous chroniclers.

Naunton went on :

“ . . . he was first made vice Chamberlaine, and shortly after, advanced to the place of Lord Chancellor ; a gentleman that besides the graces of his person, and dancing, had also the endowments of a strong and subtile capacitie, and that could soone learne the discipline and garbe, both of the times and court, and the truth is, hee had a large proportion of guifts and endowments. . . . ”

While Camden’s account of him proceeds :

“ A man he was of a pious nature, a great Reliever of the

* *Fragmenta Regalia*, Naunton, ed. 1814, p. 66.

† Camden, *Elizabeth*, Book IV., p. 458, ed. 1675.

Poor, of singular Bounty and Munificence to Students and Learned men, (for which Reason those of Oxford chose him Chancellour of their University,) and one who, in the Execution of that high and weighty Office of Lord Chancellour of England, could satisfy his Conscience in the constant Integrity of his Endeavours to doe all with Right and Equity.

Under the year 1587, Camden writes of Hatton's elevation to his great office :

" Hatton was advanced to it by the cunning Court-Arts of some that by his Absence from Court, and the troublesome Discharge of so great a Place, which they thought him not to be able to undergoe, his Favour with the Queen might flag and grow less. Yet executed he the Place with the greatest State and Splendour of any that ever we saw, and what he wanted in Knowledge of the Law, he laboured to make good by Equity and Justice." *

David Lloyd, born less than fifty years after Hatton's death, says of him :

" The chancellorship was above his law, but not his parts ; so pregnant and comprehensive that he could command other men's knowledge to as good purpose as his own. Such his humility, that he did nothing without two lawyers ; such his ability, that the queen did nothing without him. . . . Seldom were his orders reversed in Chancery ; and seldomer his advice opposed in council. So just he was, that his sentence was law with the subject ; so wise, that his opinion was oracle with the sovereign." †

When Burghley was made a peer, it was upon Hatton, elected to the Commons the previous year, that devolved the Leadership of the House, a place which he filled uninterruptedly *for sixteen years*, when he became Lord Chancellor. Elizabeth and Burghley were not in the habit of leaving the House to be managed by brainless idiots, even if they were good dancers. Hatton was on both the Commissions that tried the Babington conspirators. We have spoken of his success in getting Mary Stuart to acknowledge the jurisdiction of an English tribunal. More than that, Hatton was one of her judges ; and it was his

* Camden, *Elizabeth*, ed. 1675, Book III, p. 401.

† *State Worthies*, p. 522.

energetic action that led to the final despatch of the warrant for the execution. He was the author of masques, and acted in them. Numerous writers dedicated their productions to him. Spenser wrote a sonnet to him. Oxford chose him from all the scholars of the realm for Leicester's successor as its Chancellor. Scores of letters from Burghley, Walsingham, Leicester, and the other leaders of the time, show him in all matters of state as prominent as they themselves. Nobody's opinion was more sought by those in the highest places. Yet, history as it has been written, says he was a fool. The verdict will not stand.

3. ESSEX.—This young man was the grandson of one of Elizabeth's dearest friends. He was the son of one of her followers, the first Earl of Essex, who never wavered in his allegiance. The boy was born thirty-four years later than the Queen. His grandmother was Elizabeth's first cousin. He was one of her nearest kinsmen.

The family fortunes had disappeared in his father's ill-starred efforts to make Ireland a happy country, something, apparently, its inhabitants did not then and do not now wish. To prove his earnestness and sincerity he asked no money of the Queen. That he was prepared to supply, and supply it he did as long as he had any. It was a wild, romantic offer, worthy of the best days of chivalry. The boy was his father's true son ; and when he was eighteen (and already a graduate of Cambridge) Leicester, who eight years before had married his widowed mother, brought the handsome, spirited fellow to Elizabeth, then fifty-two, and recommended him. Burghley, the young man's guardian, was his other sponsor ; but neither could outweigh the dead father's approbation of him ; and no young gentleman ever started with fairer prospects to retrieve the inheritance which his father had so lightly thrown on Fortune's gaming table for the honour of his Queen.

This was in 1585, three years before the Armada, and no sooner had Leicester showed Essex to the Queen, than the older man took the younger with him to the Low Countries to fight the Spaniard, creating him General of Horse ! The boy, true to his pedigree, spent all the money he possessed, and some to which he could not lay as good a claim, in equipping himself and his attendants until they were the best turned-out

in all the great army. Here he spent two years, achieving great reputation for personal gallantry. Arms were his vocation.

In 1587 he returned, not yet quite twenty, while Elizabeth was past fifty-four, and at Leicester's solicitation, was made his successor as Master of the Horse, a post which Leicester had filled continuously for over a quarter of a century. He soon became quarrelsome, for he had the quickest of tempers—was vain, arrogant, spoiling for a fight.

A sneer at Blount brought one on, for they were of much the same temperament, and, when Essex was beaten, the two became friends for life. Elizabeth's comment on this encounter was: "By God's death, it were fitting some one should take him down and teach him better manners, or there were no rule with him."

Leicester made him one of his principal commanders at Tilbury when the Armada was abroad—June, 1588. The following December, he challenged Raleigh, but there was a compromise. Several months later, he ran away to take part in Drake's expedition to Portugal, was the first man to wade ashore, and, pounding on the gates of Lisbon, dared anybody within to come out and fight—and nobody came. A year later he was back at Court, where he married Walsingham's daughter, Philip Sidney's widow.

The next year he commanded an expedition to assist Henry of Navarre against the Holy League, hawked through the enemy country, and at the siege of Rouen challenged the enemy commander to personal combat—but in vain. By the beginning of the next year, 1592, he was back at Court; and for four years he worked to make himself the master of the foreign affairs of the kingdom.

At twenty-five (1592) he was a Privy Councillor, and soon overshadowed the Cecils, father and son, whose hostility, therefore, never ceased working against him. Essex employed the great Bacon brothers, Francis and Anthony, to assist him, and they devised an incomparable foreign service of their own. They discovered the Lopez plot against Elizabeth's life. The Queen's habit was to consult them before she talked with the Cecils.

In a word, Essex had stepped into the place of Leicester,

his father-in-law and sponsor, and, in many ways, his prototype ; although Essex lacked that caution and ability to be subordinate even when in disagreement with the commander, which saved Leicester, where the younger man failed.

Early in 1596 he persuaded the Queen to let him lead an expedition to attack Spain, before Spain could launch an enterprise against England. On arrival off the hostile coast, Essex's ship was in the van, and he was so elated that he threw his plumed hat into the sea before he led the successful landing, stormed Cadiz—and then protected the inhabitants from harm. Interference from a Council of War prevented him from reaping the stupendous success which, we now know, was within his grasp.

He returned to find that, while he had been facing death for the glory of his Queen, the carpet knights at home had been more fortunate—Cecil the father had secured the Queen's consent to his scheme for Cecil the son to succeed him.

The following June, Essex headed another attack on the Spanish, but again the Fates thwarted him, and he returned to learn once more that the courtier at home had been more powerful than the soldier who had gone abroad. One of his co-commanders in the former Spanish venture, who had done nothing in comparison with Essex's achievements, had been advanced until he had precedence over every other earl in England. Essex's first reply to that was a challenge to fight the new Earl, or his son. The Cecils had beaten him again, but he beat them when he won the Queen's consent to his policy of supporting the Dutch against Philip.

Cambridge now made him its Chancellor and the younger Cecil, Robert, made him commander in Ireland, a gift almost certain to ruin any man. Yet Essex would not decline the challenge. Six months afterward he returned against orders—and that the Queen never forgave. He found his place at Court gone, as well as his fortune.

The younger Cecil—Burghley had died—brought him down at last, and Essex now only needed to be given the rope with which to complete his destruction. He gathered heads about him as hot and as sore as his own, and, breaking into open rebellion, they tried to carry London. Those of the townspeople who had shouted the loudest for him left him

unsupported when it was time for the swords to be out, and Essex was beheaded on a warrant signed by the Queen who had given him such a chance to rise as she had never given to another. She had done her best for him, but she could not save or spare him and retain her authority. Nobody could have opposed and saved him. His only answer to opposition was a blow—which in those days was not conducive to a long career. He was only thirty-three at his death. Elizabeth was then sixty-seven.

Essex had the traits that catch the crowd. Showy yet brave, gentle yet strong ; with hands as delicate as a woman's, and yet the best of all England with the lance ; a good writer of sonnets, a composer of masques, the friend of men of science of all lands, one of the foremost patrons of the drama and literature. Sir Thomas Bodley was one of his most intimate friends. Spenser prefixed to *The Faery Queene* a sonnet in his praise. Numberless books were dedicated to him. He was the last of the Knights of England.

He was not a fool.

It is interesting, and illuminative of Elizabeth's character, that Leicester, Hatton, and Essex, her chief men-friends, were all of one pattern—all of honourable birth, all leaders in society, all men of arms, all most highly educated, all writers, actors, patrons of the drama, and of every other branch of learning. To them may be added Raleigh and Blount. They had all the qualities of the first three, except that, while he was a great student, Blount alone never wrote.

All came with empty hands to Elizabeth, all rose to great and deserved positions in her Government. They all performed important services, and some of them great services to the lady who, while they were mere boys, saw what they were capable of doing for their country if they only had the opportunity.

That opportunity she supplied. In return they gave their entire lives to the service of the State and the nation.

England has repaid them with obloquy, and, because of them, repaid Elizabeth with the vilest insinuations that can be made against a woman.

natus sit subee Legina, placeo mihi propter ortum mihi impar
de virtute Leginae ut sit maritus. Attamen propter
Virtutes, propter animi ac corporis copias et Heroicas dotis,
ita mirifico suo charus est Regina, ut me fratrem Germanum
plus amare possit, ex quo, qui Leginam non ut par est, frater
novit, sponte fieri soleant conjicere eum futurum maritum. Ego vero
visu et intelligentiam plurimo. illo rectam propter honestissimas suas ac
varas virtutes, mihiq. magis exoriri in illum collocamus, quam quod cu
virtute cohercat, ac la turpi amoris genere sit alienus: et hoc ego bona
fide tibi seribo, ut quod verum sit per me certo intelligas, sicut te sentire volo,
et apud omnes ubi res postulat audacter asseram. Vale. 8. Septembris 1544

meas tunc vinitas
in gratiam.

T. Petrus

CHAPTER XI

THE QUEEN'S DEFENCE

WE shall now put in for the defence such positive and circumstantial evidence as we consider conclusive. Of the latter class we shall have but little new to offer, as much of it has already been considered in other connections.

Let us first weigh the attitude of Burghley, that most indefatigable of men, who knew all that was to be known of the happenings at Elizabeth's Court. He was not a man to be easily deceived. He was Elizabeth's principal minister for the most of the first decade of her reign, and for the following quarter of a century a counsellor upon whom she placed the most confident reliance.

What is the value of his opinion upon our inquiry? Is it as good as that of any subsequent or contemporary historian? Is it as good an opinion as can be obtained, and is it one upon which we are justified in placing *absolute reliance*? We are bound to record that we would believe Burghley on any matter of fact as against all other testimony; and upon a matter in which his opinion would not be palpably influenced by his too cautious nature—too cautious, we mean, for daring enterprises—we know of no man of his time in whose judgment so much confidence can be placed.

Readers will, probably, be surprised when they learn that Burghley bears witness as to this question on a number of occasions, for no historian has mentioned his testimony in a prominent manner, and usually it has been altogether missing from accounts of the Queen. No predecessor has printed the larger part of it.

1. Writing in his own hand—see the opposite facsimile—upon the 8th of September, 1564, to Sir Christopher Mundt,

LI.D., long Elizabeth's political agent in Germany, Burghley uses these words in referring to the proposal that Elizabeth should marry the Austrian Archduke Charles :

" I . . . can write nothing more certain than what I myself perceive, that she would rather marry some foreign Prince than a native one and that the more distinguished and illustrious in family, power, and person the suitor is, the more sure will be his hopes of winning her. Nevertheless I cannot deny that that noble of our own concerning whom there is no inconsiderable expectation amongst us, Lord Robert forsooth, is worthy of such honour that he may deservedly be husband of the Queen ; but this is his sole impediment, that he is by birth the Queen's subject, and only for that reason alone does he seem to the Queen as not worthy to be her husband. Yet on account of his virtues, on account of his eminent endowments of mind and body he is so dear to the Queen by reason of his merits that she could not love a real brother more. And from this, they who do not know the Queen as she really is are often wont to conclude too hastily that he will be her husband. But I see and understand that she only takes pleasure in him on account of his most excellent and rare qualities, and that there is nothing more in their relations than that which is consistent with virtue, and most foreign to the baser sort of love. And this I write to you in good faith so that you may surely understand from me what the truth is ; and this I wish you to believe and to assert boldly amongst all when the occasions demands it. Farewell, 8 Sept., 1564.

" Your most loving

" G. CECILIUS.

" To the most renowned Lord Christopher, etc., the Queen of England's most trusty agent, etc.

" I beg you to send me back this letter safely, and so do me a favour." *

* MSS. at Hatfield House, 154/86, the original letter, all in Cecil's hand, including the endorsement " 8 Sept. 1564 W. Cecill. Chrof. Môtin." with seal " W. C." and device.

Accompanying the original letter is a copy of it, also entirely in Cecil's hand, including an endorsement. The two MSS. agree, except in respect to the *postscriptum*, the endorsement, and use of seal. In the original the postscript is " I beg you to send me back this letter safely and so do me a favour." In the copy, the postscript reads " Please hand the enclosed letter as quickly as you can to Mr. Sturm. Please send back the letter to me for I am very anxious not to have published what I write in this affair." The endorsement reads " Copy of letter written to Mr. Mundt by order of the Queen, 8 Sept. 1564." There is no seal. The copy is Hat. MSS. 154/85.

Cecil was not a man to indulge in fulsome phrases. When he signs himself as "Your most loving William Cecil," we may be sure that he meant every word, and our judgment on the truth of the passages relating to Elizabeth and Leicester should be formed only from this point of view. Cecil was writing to one of his closest friends.

2. Complete accord with the above will be found in the report of the French Ambassador M. de Foix in the succeeding February (18th, 1565), upon his negotiations for the marriage of Elizabeth and Charles IX., then on the throne :

"The said Cecil assured him with many oaths that the Queen his mistress had no desire to marry the Count of Leicester or any one else in this country, and he was quite sure of this, and he would wage his head it would not happen. It was true she loved the said Count, for his virtues and merits, not as a subject but as a brother, and desired his welfare and grandeur, and she would be well pleased if he should be preferred and advanced. . . ."

Is it at all likely that Burghley, if Elizabeth had been the notoriously loose woman we have been led to believe her, would have had the hardihood to say a thing like this *to an Ambassador resident in London*, where nothing could take place in the Queen's life that would be unknown to him? But, aside from this, we know that these were Burghley's real sentiments. The letter to Mundt alone shows that beyond peradventure—as does the letter we are now to present.

3. A year later Cecil writes to Sir Thomas Smith, one of his oldest and closest friends, and one of the most important men of the period. He succeeded Cecil as principal secretary in 1572. At the time of this letter, 26th March, 1566, Smith

The presence of these two MSS. at Hatfield has never before been noted by any author. Haynes published and mentioned only the original—p. 420. Lingard, the only authority to mention in the slightest manner that there had ever been such a letter, cites the *original* embellished with a paraphrase of the endorsement on the *copy*, although leaving out the latter's postscript. His statement that Elizabeth saw the letter before Cecil wrote the postscript asking for the return of the document, is, of course, purely imaginary. His argument that because the letter was written at Elizabeth's order, and because Cecil desired the document returned, it is therefore evident that Cecil did not believe what he had indited, is too silly to warrant further attention. Cf. *Lingard*, vol. vi. pp. 113-114, and note 1, of the 5th ed.

* *Baschet Transc.*, P. R. O., Bundle No. 25, *Discours*.

was special ambassador to France, in order to negotiate a marriage between Elizabeth and Charles IX.

“Of my Lord of Leicester’s absence, and of his return of favour to others here, if your man tell you the tales of court or citie, they be fond (Foolish.—F. C.) and many untrue. Briefly I affirm, that the Queene’s Majesty may be, by malicious tongs, not well reported, but in truth she herself is blameless, and hath no spot of evill intent. Marry, there may lack specially in so busy a world circumspections to avoyde all occasions.” *

4. The following month, April, 1566, Cecil wrote out the famous document comparing the merits of Leicester and the Austrian Archduke as husband for Elizabeth. His second article under the heading “Reasons against the Earl of Leicester” reads thus :

“It will be thought that the slanderous speeches of the Queen with the Earl have been true.” †

Is it possible to infer anything from these words except that “the slanderous speeches of the Queen with the Earl have” *not* been true ?

5. And when we turn back five years we find Burghley writing again, in one of those chatty paragraphs he so often indulged in :

“Here is a great resort of wooers and controversy among lovers. Would to God the Queen had one, and the rest honourably satisfied.” ‡

Would he have written these words if Elizabeth had had a lover ? We take it that Burghley was the last man so to stultify himself.

It would appear that Burghley felt confident that there was nothing illicit in the relations between Elizabeth and Leicester or anybody else. Is the judgment of Burghley to be set aside for that of some historian who never saw Elizabeth, nor saw anybody who had seen her ? For over forty years Burghley was in daily contact with Elizabeth ; every prominent man who ever appeared at her Court was thoroughly known to him ; and

* Wright, vol. i. p. 224.

† Froude, ed. 1863, vol. viii. p. 286, note.

‡ Creighton, p. 57.

he was a very wise, shrewd, deep-thinking man of untiring industry.

6. We next put in the testimony of the Spanish Ambassador De Silva, who was for years in the London Court. In 1565 he writes to Philip II. from London :

" I keep Leicester in hand in the best way I can, as I am still firm in my idea, that if any marriage at all is to result from all this, it will be his. The Emperor's man, also, sees a good many signs tending to this, although certainly nothing wrong. . . . " *

This is the formal communication from the Spanish Ambassador to his sovereign. Could anything be written under weightier responsibility ?

7. Another Spanish Ambassador, speaking with reference to the coming of the Austrian Archduke, as a suitor, reports to his King, Philip II. :

" In my last interview with the Queen, whilst I was urging and persuading her to consent to the Archduke's visit, . . . she replied that he (The Archduke.—F. C.) might not be dissatisfied with what he saw but with what he heard about her, as I knew there were people in the country who took pleasure in saying anything that came into their heads about her. This she said with some signs of shame, and I answered that we who were treating of the Emperor's business were not so badly informed that we did not know something of what was necessary in deciding the affair, and Her Majesty might be sure that if there were anything which the Archduke should not hear or learn, the idea of his coming would not have been entertained by us. . . . " †

We can conceive nothing more probable than De Quadra's position as he states it ; and this brings us to a point which all our predecessors MUST have observed had they made exhaustive study of the subject of this investigation, namely : that it would be almost INCONCEIVABLE that ANY Prince of the House of Spain, of France, of Austria, of Sweden, of Denmark, would have sought marriage with Elizabeth if she had been a guilty woman, even with one man alone. It is much more

* *Sim. Doc.*, vol. i. p. 466, 13th Aug., 1565.

† De Quadra to Philip II., *Sim. Doc.*, vol. i. No. 65, 5th Oct., 1559.

inconceivable that princes of *all* these houses, and more than one from each—except only Denmark—should in each case have been willing to become the husband of a notoriously light woman.

There are few men who will marry a bad woman. No man ever did it who did not regret it. No monarch could do it without endangering his throne. No monarch could do it, and retain at his Court a single decent person. Even a King cannot flout decency to such an extent. What a position a great Prince of Catholic Spain would have had to face in marrying Elizabeth, if the whole world regarded her as one who had been the mistress of many men ! The couple would have been jeered off their thrones. Does anybody seriously propose to suggest that all the princes of the Great European Powers were willing to enter an alliance that would have brought them face to face with that situation ? The bare supposition is absurd. Yet that is the very position in which nearly all our forerunners have unwittingly placed themselves. They could not have deeply thought out the question at all.

8. We now come to a piece of evidence which to our mind is very strong, yet there may be some who will sneer at it, as they sneer at everything favourable to Elizabeth. The witness is the Queen herself. She supposed, and everybody about her supposed, that she was *in extremis*, with the small-pox, in 1562. De Quadra, the Spanish Ambassador, reports to Philip II. :

“ The Queen protested at the time that although she loved and had always loved Lord Robert dearly, as God was her witness, nothing improper had ever passed between them.” *

It is the custom to gibe at Elizabeth's religion ; but it is a course in which we cannot join. We have too much sympathy with her point of view. She could never identify much about the Church with Religion. The majority of mankind have by this time followed her lead. It was the *essentials* alone that interested her. The contentions of sect and form, school and precedence, did not impress her as things at all concerned with Religion or with God. Yet we are bound to record our profound impression that few monarchs have more depended

* *Sim. Docs.*, vol. i. p. 190, 25th Oct., 1562.

upon God than did Elizabeth. We cannot think that she would blaspheme Him in what she believed to be the very hour when she must present herself before Him.

9. The logical attitude of so great an authority upon the matter that concerns us as Catherine de Medici, the Queen-Mother of France, and one of the most able rulers in any country, adds great weight to the favourable evidence for Elizabeth. Like Burghley and all the ambassadors at the London Court, we may be certain that if Elizabeth were guilty, Catherine knew it. Had she believed the calumnies, would she have said to the English Ambassador what we have already quoted in 5. CHARGE 16, of Chapter IX. ? Those who recall that there the Queen-Mother and both of her sons, the King and Anjou, were agreed that Elizabeth was innocent, need not read more hereunder, as it is but repetition. Catherine is negotiating in her garden at Blois with the two English Ambassadors, Walsingham and Thomas Smith, than whom England possessed no abler men. The subject is a marriage between Elizabeth and one of Catherine's sons, who had sent word to her through her other son, the King, that he would not marry Elizabeth because of the scandal he had heard of her. We may be sure that he had heard nothing, and seen nothing, from any French Ambassador or from any other reliable source that had not also reached *her* ears or eyes—and what is her observation on his point of view ?

“ I bare him in hand (for it grieved me not a little, and the King, my son, as you know) that of all evil rumours and tales of naughty persons, such as would break the matter (That is, prevent the marriage.—F. C.) and were spread abroad of the Queen, that those he did believe . . . and I told him it is all the hurt that evil men can do to noble men and princes, to spread abroad lies and dishonourable tales of them ; and that we of all princes that be women are subject to be slandered wrongfully of them that be our adversaries. Other hurt they cannot do us. He said and swore to me he gave no credit to them. He knew that she had so virtuously governed her realm this long time, that she must needs be a good and virtuous princess, and full of honour ; and other opinion of her he could not have. . . . ” *

* Digges, Smith to Burghley, 22nd March, 1572.

The French prince had previously said that "he considers he would be dishonoured" if he married her, so much had he heard "against her honour." It is plain that he had altered his mind, not about her innocence, belief in which he had sworn, but about marrying her; and that such is the case is further demonstrated by Catherine's writing to her London Ambassador, Fénélon, eleven months previously, and sixteen days subsequent to the date of Anjou's aspersions, that he then "desires it (The marriage.—F. C.) at this hour, infinitely." * What had caused him to make this *volte-face* in so short a time we can only infer from the Queen Mother's statement in the same letter that "I have done so much that my said son d'Anjou is willing to marry her (Elizabeth.—F. C.)." But what is even more conclusive and significant is the fact that Anjou was thereafter for many months in pursuit of the match. Catherine's belief in Elizabeth's purity is established. Her son swore that he gave "no credit" to the slanders. They two are very competent authorities.

10. As long as Sir Thomas Chaloner was alive, he and Burghley were the closest friends. They were within a year of being the same age. Chaloner is one of the first men of the period. He seems to have been educated both at Oxford and Cambridge. Before he was twenty, he was abroad in the diplomatic service, which he never left. He was sent to Vienna, to Algiers, to Scotland, to France, to Flanders, to negotiate with Emperor Ferdinand, and then to Brussels, where he remained for several years as Ambassador to Philip II. He was a most competent and brave soldier, and received his knighthood on the field of battle. He was a noted literary man, a poet in French and Latin. All the learned men of his time were his friends. He left four printed works, to one of which Cecil prefixed verses in praise of the author. In his diary, Cecil records: "Sir Thomas Challoner dyed, and was buryed in Paules Church, wher Sir William Cecil was the chief Mourner." Cecil was also one of his executors. Upon the 6th of December, 1559, when the scandals about Leicester and Elizabeth were at their zenith, Chaloner sent from Brussels a letter to Burghley, from the postscript of which we excerpt the following:

* Fénélon, *Corresp. Dip.*, 18th Feb., 1571, tom. 7, p. 183.

" I assure you, Sir, thies Folks ar brode Mowthd, where I spake of oon to muche in Favour, as they esteme. I thincke ye gesse whome they named ; if ye do not, I will apon my net Letters write further. To tell you what I conceyve ; as I count the Slawnder most false, so a young Princesse canne not be to ware, what Countenance or familiar Demonstration she maketh, more to oon, then an other.

" I judge no oon Mannes Service in the Realme woorth the Enterteignement with suche a Tayle of Obloquie, or Occasion of Speeche to suche Men as of evill Will ar ready to fynde Faults. This delaye of rype tyme for Maryage, besides the Losse of the Realme (for without posterite of her Highnes what hope is lefte unto us) mynistrcth Matter to theis lewde Towngs to descant apon, and breedith Contempt. I would I had but oon Howres talke with you. Thincke, if I trusted not your good Nature, I woulde not write thus muche ; which nevertheles I humbly praye you to reserve as written to yourself." *

Does anybody wish to set himself against the undoubted opinion of Chaloner ? He had been away from England since Elizabeth mounted the throne ; but had anybody better sources of information than he ? Would the opinion of anybody at a later time be worth so much concerning this question ? " I count the Slawnder most false " is his verdict.

II. We shall now present a piece of evidence which has never been in print, or known, or mentioned, by any historian. It has lain for more than three centuries in the Royal Library of Stockholm, where it may now be seen. It is of the greatest importance because of the man who wrote it, and the circumstances under which it was prepared.

In the winter of 1561, King Erick of Sweden, who had sought Elizabeth's hand while he was yet Crown Prince, renewed his suit which had been begun by his brother John, Duke of Finland, in 1559, when he spent some six months in London. Regular Ambassadors had followed with the same errand, but, finding their progress ineffective, Erick determined to make a last effort with a bigger man. If he too failed the Queen should see the northern monarch *in propria persona*. He chose for this most delicate work Nils

* Haynes, p. 212.

Gyllenstjerna, whose name usually appears in English State Papers as Nicholas Guilderstern, or with slight variations.

He was Chancellor of Sweden, one of its most prominent and most experienced statesmen. He it was who horrified the assembled guests at his master's coronation by dropping the crown as he was about to place it upon the new monarch's brow—an omen that did not disappoint those who believed in the terrible fate it portended. In the middle of December, 1560, the Chancellor left Sweden, and on the 4th of the following April forwarded to his royal master the letter, part of the last page of which we reproduce. It is all in Latin. The portion which concerns us begins with *De minus*, in the 5th line and ends with the first two words, *quidem indicio*, of the 11th line, the entire passage reading :

“ *De minus pudica vita eius nullum signum, castitatis autem et virginitatis et vere pudicitiae perplurima vidi, ita ut vitam ipsam deponere ausim ipsam esse castissimam, pulchra est et eloquens et plane digna V.S.M. si quæ est in tota Europa meo quidem indicio.*”

“ I saw no signs of an immodest life, but I did see many signs of chastity, of virginity, and of true modesty ; so that I would stake my life itself that she is most chaste. She is beautiful and eloquent, and wholly worthy your Majesty, in my judgment at least, if there is any in all Europe who is.” *

There would appear little doubt that one of the specific things which the Chancellor was instructed by his master to study on his visit to London was the character of Elizabeth, to whom Erick was proposing marriage. There would seem to be no other reasonable explanation for the Chancellor's breaking out in the middle of a long letter to say, without a preceding word on the subject, that he saw nothing of any immodest life in the Queen, but did see many signs that she was most chaste ; and it would be most surprising if Erick did not want a fresh opinion on the subject, in view of the tales that as we have seen, and shall see, were flying all about Europe, even if, as we have also seen, they were often instigated by Elizabeth herself.

12. We have already (under No. 1) quoted a letter from

* *Anglica Legaten N. Gyldenstiernas Bref. till Kongl. Maj.* 1561-62, p. 18, Kungl. Biblioteket, Stockholm.

quot annos nata est videlicet 27. inque fore
singulis momentis familiarissime alloquebatur
ipsam enim processit in ingressu & egressu, ut
consuetudo foret De negotio autem aliquid loqui
Religio obstabat, De nimis pudica vita eius
nullum signum, castitatis autem & virginita-
tis & vere pudicitie perphurina vidi. ut
et vitam ipsam deponere ausim, ipsam esse
castissimam. pulchra est & eloquens & plane
digna V.S.M. Si quæ est in tota Europa mos
quidem indicio. Hæc habui quæ V.S.M. signifi-
canda duxi. & si nimis sint eleganter scripta
propter varietatem sermonis & rei, hoc tamen
habeo polliceri me verbum ad verbum scrip-
sisse quæ Regina mecum allocuta. & quan-
tum humanum ingenium coniectura assequi
potest & ex signis quibuscumque probabilibus Regine
summonere officii iam si unquam ausa, Equi-
dem fortassis non nimis redamare quam amo-
tur, quid obstat quò nimis animum suum ad
huc declarare velit. an presentia V.M. vel
aliud quicquam, Deus scit quæ hoc negotium
ad finem optatum tandem perducatur, cum V.S.M.
incolumem cum felicissimo Regni statu atque
perpetuo incrementis in æternum commenda-
tum oro. Dux Lindum 4 Aprilis Anno Dni
1551

Vestre S. Maiestatis
Obsequemissimis & fidelissimis servitor
& Cancellarius

Nicolaus Georgii

Burghley to Sir Christopher Mundt, Elizabeth's political agent in Germany, wherein the writer says that Elizabeth and Leicester were guiltless in their relations. That was written in 1564. More than three years before that, Mundt had written to Burghley to similar effect, if more briefly, about the same scandal. Curiously enough, his letter is dated on the very day when Guilderstern's letter, just quoted, was penned, the 4th of April, 1561. It was at a time when the possibilities of the Austrian marriage were at their highest. As we read Mundt's letter, we can see how Elizabeth's reputation had to suffer, when to attack it would serve the purposes of first one nation and then another. Mundt writes from Frankfort :

“ Most horrid lies have been written from the French Court, Brussels, and Lorraine, by certain important but most impudent personages to the German princes concerning the Queen and her Master of the Horse (Leicester.—F. C.). It would be well that these evil reports should be removed from the mind of the Elector Palatine, as the writer knows most scandalous letters have been sent to him from Lower Germany.” *

We can easily read from these lines that, in order to defeat the Austrian match, and increase the power of the Catholics, a deliberate and widespread campaign was being carried on, with the defamation of Elizabeth, the chief hope of all the Protestants, as its principal weapon. The Elector Palatine was one of the leading men of that faith on the Continent, and he had a son about to sue for Elizabeth's hand. Any such project the Catholics must defeat if they could—and the way to defeat it most effectively with strong Calvinists like these princes of the Palatinate was to make Elizabeth out a bad woman. No doubt the slanderers considered themselves Christians, and the helpless woman they maligned a pagan. But a little while ago, the reader's attention was called to a statement of the Spanish Ambassador in London, saying that the French Ambassador had just been to him to say that Elizabeth had passed the night with Leicester (CHARGE 12, Chapter VIII.). At that time the Austrian marriage was most imminent; and the French Ambassador was simply

* *For. St. Pap.*, 1561, No. 88.

and unconscionably slandering Elizabeth in order to stop the marriage, which his master feared above everything else. The Spaniard says that this is the case.

Can a more pitiful situation for a woman be imagined? Elizabeth was perfectly helpless against these attacks. Every time that any monarch or prince offered marriage, every opponent of the match would use slander to prevent it. That is a plain statement of the true position. Under these circumstances, is it not remarkable that the most exhaustive researches during three centuries have revealed no more direct accusations against Elizabeth than those detailed in Chapter VIII.? We can only conclude that those who knew were well aware that there were no facts to warrant others.

13. In 1565 there was a most determined effort by the Austrian Emperor to bring the negotiations for the marriage of his son and Elizabeth to a successful conclusion. Maximilian selected one of the most able men of his diplomatic service, the Baron Mitterburg, Adam Swetkowitz, to come to London and take charge of the affair, which the resident Ambassador had brought to a promising condition. Swetkowitz reached England in the first week of May, 1565, and left on his return journey three months later. Upon the 4th of June, after he had been about a month in London, he wrote his imperial master a Latin letter, from which we reprint the following :

*“ Et cum totius huius negotii maximus autor et promotor sit et erit illustrissimus dominus comes Lecestrensis Maiestati Vestre Cesaree et serenissimo archiduci Carolo ac tote domui Austrace affectionatissimus et deditissimus et qui a serenissima regina sincero ac castissimo atque honestissimo amore tanquam frater germanus amatur, summopore conducere meo iudicio videretur, ut Maiestas Vestra Caesarea et serenissimus archidux Carolus praefatum illustrissimum comitem dominum fraternis literis salutarent et gratificarent.” **

“ And since the principal author and promoter of all this business is and will be the most illustrious lord the Earl of Leicester who is most affectionately disposed and devoted to your Imperial Majesty, and to the Archduke Charles, and to the whole house of Austria, and who is ever loved by the most serene Queen with sincere and most chaste and most

* Vienna Archives Hausarchiv, Familienakten, Faszikel 15.

honourable love as a true brother, it would seem in my judgment to be of the greatest advantage if your Imperial Majesty and the most serene Archduke Charles would salute and gratify with fraternal letters the aforesaid most illustrious Earl."

Can you, reader, find this letter in any history? And could there be better evidence? This Ambassador was on the spot, he had the regular Austrian Ambassadors to consult, he had the Spanish Ambassador to consult, he had every Catholic in England to advise him. He was not a young man. He was not inexperienced. If any man was competent to judge of and report on a matter so intimately connected with the honour of the House of Austria, he was that man. What is the contrary opinion of anybody, one, two, or three centuries afterward, worth in comparison?

14. Another Ambassador, this time a Frenchman, has left his testimony to similar effect, upon two separate occasions. Bertrand de Salignac de la Mothe Fénélon was one of the most prominent men of the France of his day. Born in 1523, ten years before Elizabeth, he served with great distinction in the army until 1568, when he came to Elizabeth's Court as Ambassador, just ten years after her ascension. He remained continuously seven years. Six years later he returned with the Prince Dauphin de Montpensier, to negotiate with Elizabeth for her marriage with the royal prince, Alençon. He was a Catholic and fought in the armies against the Protestants in France. A year after he came with the Dauphin, he was back in London for twelve months, and his diplomatic career only ended with his death when he had attained the age of sixty-six. He left a number of important works upon war, history, and travel. The three large volumes of his diplomatic dispatches during his seven years' residence at the Court of Elizabeth are a lasting monument to his great ability in the highest art of peace, in which, however, he reached no more prominent place than he did in the field of arms.

We can conceive of no more competent man to form a judgment as to the truth of the scandals about Elizabeth. No man could have been better placed to obtain accurate information upon such a matter. Nobody could have known facts unknown to him. He is a witness of the utmost probity.

He had been in London about two and a half years when

he addressed an official despatch to the Queen-Mother, Catherine de Medicis, in which occur these words with reference to the negotiation then being carried on for the marriage of Elizabeth with Anjou, the brother of the French monarch and the son of Catherine :

“ D’autres m’ont mandé que les quatre principaulx, qui guydent les intentions de la dicte Dame, se sont assemblez pour résouldre qu’est ce qu’ilz luy en conseileroient. Je vous manderay bientost leur conseil, et vous adjouxteray cependant, Madame, cestuy cy du mien, qu’encor que ceste princesse soit bonne et vertueuse, je ne la tiens toutesfois esloignée du naturel de celles qui veulent monstrier de fouyr, lorsque plus elles sont recerchées ; . . . ” *

The translation of this is :

“ Others have told me that the four principal people who affect the intentions of the said Lady, have gathered to decide what they will advise her to do. I will tell you soon their decision, and will add, moreover, Madame, my own opinion, which is that though this princess is good and virtuous, she is not always different from the nature of those who balk the more they are sought.”

A month later, writing to the same Queen, Fénélon says :

“ L’on a peu diversement escrire et parler de ceste princesse sur l’oyr dire des gens, qui quelquefois ne pardonnent à ceulx mesmes qui sont les meilleurs, mais, de tant qu’en sa court l’on ne voyt que ung bon ordre, et elle y estre bien fort honorée et ententive en ses affaires, et que les plus grandz de son royaume et toutz ses subjectz la craignent et révérent, et elle ordonne d’eulx et sur eulx avec pleyne autorité, j’ay estimé que cella ne pouvoit procéder de personne mal famée, et où il n’y eust de la vertu ; et néantmoins ce que je sçavois que vous en aviez ouy dire, et l’opinion qu’on a qu’elle n’aura point d’enfans, les dures conditions qui se peuvent proposer en telz contractz. . . . ” †

The English of the above reads :

“ They write and speak very differently of this princess from

* *Corresp. Dip.*, Fénélon to the Queen, 31st Jan. 1571, vol. iii. p. 456.

† *Correspond. Dip.*, Fénélon ; Fénélon to the Queen, 6th March, 1571 ; vol. iv. p. 11. Cf. letter of 2nd March, 1571, from Cath. de Med. to Fénélon, *ibid.* vol. vii. p. 189.

the hearsay of men who sometimes cannot forgive the great qualities of their betters ; but in her own Court they would see nothing irregular, and that she is very greatly honoured therein, and understands her affairs so well that the mightiest and the lowliest of her subjects fear and revere her, and she rules them with complete authority. I conceive that this could not proceed from a person of evil fame, or who was lacking in virtue. Nevertheless, I know what you have heard said, and that there is the opinion that she will never have children."

15. There is also that letter of Hatton to Elizabeth quoted as the second letter under 7. CHARGE 18, in Chapter IX., wherein Hatton cried out :

"Live for ever . . . and love some man. . . . A more wise man may seek you, but a more faithful and worthy can never have you."

Hatton had then been at Court ten years. He certainly knew what went on there. Is this language that he would have used *if Elizabeth had had, or had then, a lover, or if there had been, or was then, any man whom she loved?* It seems impossible to imagine his doing so.

NOTE.—The frequency with which one meets with hints as to children of Elizabeth's must have mention. We shall only present three authorities—but two were contemporary and the third substantially so, and all were well informed. Few will fail to be of opinion that they should for ever have settled the matter. That they have not done so is a matter that those who spread such tales must explain.

a. This first authority has been heretofore mentioned in Chapter IX. under 7. CHARGE 20. The English Ambassador at Madrid had been spreading the report that Elizabeth had a daughter, whom the Queen would marry to some Catholic selected by Philip II.—at least, this was the report to the Vatican. Upon the 29th of January, 1576, the Papal Secretary of State, Galli, replies to this :

"Were it true that the pretended Queen had a daughter, his Holiness deems that it would enable his Majesty (Philip II. of Spain.—F.C.) to dispense with war, which of its own nature is so hazardous, and think of some accord by way of marriage, which in the end might bring the realm back to the Catholic faith."—*Vat. Arch. Nunt. di Spagna*, vol. ix. fol. 81.

What did the Vatican think of the truth of the rumour ?

b. The great de Quadra, Philip II.'s Ambassador to Elizabeth's Court and who died at his post, writes to his master from London in January, 1561 :

" . . . there is no lack of people who say she has already had some (children), but of this I have seen no trace and do not believe it."—*Sim. Docs.*, vol. i. letter 122, 22nd Jan., 1561, de Quadra to Philip II.

Nobody will dispute that de Quadra was a diligent Ambassador, even for an ungrateful monarch who withheld his pay, and saw the old man's body seized in London for debts contracted in Philip's service.

c. There remains the testimony of Osborne, who was ten years of age

16. One of the greatest historians was a contemporary of the Queen. He was her junior by a score of years. He spent his whole life in writing that marvellous Latin production now generally known as *Histoire universelle*. The greater part of it was written before Elizabeth died. Yet it is as magnificent in style as the work of Froude. What a tremendous distance there was between the English historians of that time and this Frenchman, Jacques Auguste de Thou, may be appreciated by comparing a page of Froude with one of Camden or Naunton. There is almost as much difference as between the Englishman of to-day and his hairy ancestor dressed in a wolfskin, and armed with a stone hammer. The work covers the years 1546 to 1607, in sixteen *quarto* volumes, each of some 470 pages. He was a most erudite scholar, trained for the law, for diplomacy, and the Church, and widely travelled. The *Encyclopædia Britannica* says of this history: "De Thou was treated as a classic, an honour which he deserved. His history is a model of exact research, drawn from the best sources. . . ." The greatest excellence of the work is its reliability, which three centuries of study has never shaken.

De Thou was certainly in daily touch with the leading men of his time. He was a member of the French Parliament, a *conseiller d'état*, and he had spent several years on a diplomatic mission with Paul de Foix, who, seven years before, had completed four years of service as French Ambassador at the Court of Elizabeth.

He deals with this matter of Elizabeth's morals in these words:

"The hatred of her religion has caused much evil to be said against her: but her long life, and the good fortune,

when Elizabeth died. He seems soon after to have come to Court, and there remained in some office or other for the next thirty or forty years. He was one of the most popular literary men of his age, a thing very difficult to comprehend by those who peruse his works. There is no doubt that he had close companionship with many men and women who had known the intimate side of Elizabeth's life during its later years. As already quoted, under 3, CHARGE 4, in Chapter IX., Osborne writes in his *Memoirs*, p. 60, 1658 ed.:

"... that she (Elizabeth.—F. C.) had a Son bred in the State of Venice, and a Daughter I know not where or when, with other strange tales that went on her, I neglect to insert, as better for a Romance, then to mingle with so much truth and integrity as I professe. . . ."

never wavering, which accompanied her clear up to her death with the favour of heaven as constant as impenetrable, has sufficiently refuted the greatest part of it. She had the weakness to like to be courted and loved for her beauty ; and even when she was no longer young, she yet affected to have lovers. It seemed as if she made it a diversion to herself to renew the remembrance of those fabulous islands, where noblemen and famous knights formerly wandered and piqued themselves on loving—but in a noble and virtuous manner, and into which there entered no impurity. If these amusements did some hurt to her reputation, they never injured the majesty of her state.” *

17. Under 3, CHARGE 4, in Chapter IX., we have reprinted extracts from the *Memoirs* of Francis Osborne which show clearly that he had little faith in the accusations against the Queen. There Osborne says that the remark of Henry the Great of France that one of the “ three things inscrutable to intelligence [was] Whether Queen Elizabeth was a maid or no,” “ may render reports dubious that come from meaner men.” We know that Osborne disbelieved the tales that Elizabeth had had children. He also said that the favour shown to Essex did not come “ from a nearer familiarity then I have been informed it did ” ; and, giving his last comment upon this matter in general, he thus sums up : †

“ Now whether these Amorosities were naturall, or meerely poetical and personated, I leave to conjecture.”

18. Bacon, we take it, will be deemed of much importance to our inquiry. He was a contemporary of Elizabeth. He was at Court. He was for years the chief adviser of Essex. For long, he was almost as much as that to the Queen herself. There must have been no man better informed of the inner doings of the Court during the greater part of her reign. In his essay upon the Queen he writes : ‡

“ Some of the graver sort may, perhaps, aggravate her levities ; in loving to be admired and courted, nay, and to have love poems made on her ; and continuing this humour longer

* *Histoire universelle*, vol. xiv. p. 146.

† *Memoirs*, p. 73 of the ed. 1658.

‡ *Essays*, Queen Elizabeth, Ward, Lock & Co. ed. p. 117.

than was decent for her years ; yet to take even these matters in a milder sense, they claim a due admiration ; being often found in fabulous narrations ; as that of ‘ a certain queen in the fortunate islands, in whose court love was allowed, but lust banished.’ . . . This queen was certainly good and moral ; and as such she desired to appear.”

19. We have now reached the final piece of testimony. It is from the pen of one of the most celebrated, most experienced, most learned, and most respected men of the Elizabethan era, Michel de Castelnau, Sieur de la Mauvissière. Thirteen years older than Elizabeth, he was very carefully educated and then travelled in Italy, staying long at Rome. He then went to Malta, and then into the army in the war with Italy. At the age of thirty-seven he held a command in the navy, but returned to the army and fought in Picardy. He was sent on various delicate diplomatic missions, including one to Mary Stuart before she married the Dauphin. In 1559, a year after Elizabeth came on the throne, he was sent to negotiate with her for the restoration of Calais, when began that intimate acquaintance with the English Court which was to endure for a quarter of a century. An embassy to Germany, to Margaret of Parma, to Savoy, and yet another to Rome followed. Then he accompanied Mary Stuart on her fatal return to her own country, after she had ceased to be Queen of France. For a year he was then in Scotland, except when at the London Court in his efforts to reconcile the two queens. His wise and moderate advice to Mary, his fellow Catholic, however, was unheeded, and she plunged into the abyss. Upon returning to France he fought the Protestants in Brittany, and then followed ten years of more embassies to different Courts, including that of Elizabeth and of Alba in the Netherlands.

In 1572 he was hurried over to Elizabeth to try to alleviate the effect of St. Bartholomew. Next he was sent to Germany, to Switzerland—and then, in 1574, he came to Elizabeth’s Court as regular Ambassador, to remain continuously for ten years. With this service completed, he returned to France to be further entrusted with other missions until his death in 1592, eleven years before the Great Queen left the scene. The *Encyclopædia Britannica* says of his *Mémoires* : “ They rank very high among the original authorities for the period they

cover. . . . They were written during his last embassy in England (1574-1584.—F. C.) for the benefit of his son, and they possess the merits of clearness, veracity and impartiality.”

We now offer this great man's verdict upon the scandalous charges against Elizabeth that have come down to us through the centuries, until we have come to believe them. After a quarter of a century of the closest possible acquaintance with Elizabeth and all the men and women of her Court, he solemnly leaves this message to his boy :

“ Et si l'on l'a voulu taxer faussement d'avoir de l'amour, je diray avec verité que ce sont inventions forgées de ses mal-veillans, & és cabinets des Ambassadeurs, pour dégoûter de son alliance ceux auxquels elle eut esté utile.” *

An exact translation is :

“ And if some persons have wished to tax her falsely with having amorous attachments, I shall say with truth that these are inventions forged by the malevolent, and from the cabinets of some Ambassadors, to prevent those to whom it would have been most useful from making an alliance with her.”

Such is the case for Elizabeth. The forthcoming and final chapter will demonstrate the principal reason why, in spite of the many positive and overwhelming evidences of Elizabeth's purity, all posterity has regarded her as unchaste. No other verdict has been possible.

* *Mémoires*, vol. i. p. 62, ed. 1731.

CHAPTER XII

HOW ELIZABETH WAS CONVICTED

WE are now nearing the end of the road we have been so long travelling.

A glance at the following tables will demonstrate to the reader better than any other statement why it is that the public at large in every country has been almost unanimously of the opinion that there was no reasonable doubt of the immorality of "that Great Queen," to adopt Cromwell's description of her.

These tables comprise all the biographies of the Queen, all the important histories of England, and all other authorities whose scope comprehends a consideration of her character. We believe that every book of this classification is included in this list. We believe it comprises every volume which has had any appreciable influence upon the subject of our work. It is intended to present a complete list, and, as just said, it is believed that that has been done. The opinion of the world upon the chastity of Elizabeth *must* have been formed upon its reading of these fifty-three works, for there are, substantially at any rate, no others dealing importantly with the matter for it to have read.

It is desired to show the reader how the public for three centuries *has not been able to learn of the nineteen Defences* which have been presented upon the Queen's behalf in the preceding chapter.

The fifty-three authorities are as follows, with the authors arranged alphabetically :

AIKIN, The Court and Times of Queen Elizabeth.

BEESLY, E. S., Queen Elizabeth.

BEKKER, ERNST, Elizabeth and Leicester.

- BOHUN, The Character of Queen Elizabeth.
 BRIGHT, A History of England.
 Cambridge Modern History.
 CAPEFIGUE, M., *La Reine Vierge Élisabeth d'Angleterre*.
 CARTE, THOS., A General History of England.
 CASSELL'S History of England.
 CONGREVE, RICHARD, Historical Lectures.
 CREIGHTON, MANDELL, Queen Elizabeth.
 DARGAUD, J. M., *Histoire d'Élisabeth d'Angleterre*.
 Dictionary of National Biography.
 Encyclopædia Britannica.
 ECHARD, LAURENCE, History of England.
 ELLIS, Original Letters Illustrative of English History,
 Series 1, 2, 3.
 FROUDE, History of England.
 GARDINER, S. R., A Student's History of England.
 GARDINER, S. R., and J. BASS MULLINGER, Introduction to the
 Study of English History.
 GREEN, A History of the English People.
 HALLAM, The Constitutional History of England.
 HUME, DAVID, The History of England.
 HUME, M. A. S., The Courtships of Queen Elizabeth.
 INNES, A. D., England under the Tudors.
 JAMESON, Memoirs of Female Sovereigns.
 KERALIO, Mlle. de, *Histoire d'Élisabeth Reine d'Angleterre*.
 LETI, GREGORIO, *Historia overo vita di Elisabetta*.
 LINGARD, A History of England.
 LOCKE, GLADYS E., Queen Elizabeth.
 MACKINTOSH, The History of England.
 MARCKS, ERICH, *Königin Elizabeth von England und ihre
 Zeit*.
 MARTIN, FREDERICK, The National History of England.
 MONTGOMERY, The Leading Facts of English History.
 OLDMIXON, JOHN, The History of England.
 OMAN, A History of England.
 ORR, LYNDON, Famous Affinities of History.
 People's History of England.
 POLLARD, A. F., The Political History of England, vol. vi.—
 The History of England from the Accession of
 Edward VI. to the Death of Elizabeth (1910).
 POWELL, F. YORK, and TOUT, T. F., History of England.
 RANKE, LEOPOLD VON, A History of England.
 RAPIN, THOYRAS DE, The History of England.
 RAUMER, FREDERICK VON, The Political History of England.

RAUMER, Contributions to Modern History.
 RICHARDSON, MRS. AUBREY, The Lover of Queen Elizabeth.
 ROBERTSON, WILLIAM, The History of Scotland.
 SMOLLETT, A Complete History of England.
 STRICKLAND, AGNES, Life of Elizabeth.
 STRYPE, Works of.
 TOMLINS, A History of England.
 TURNER, SHARON, History of England.
 TYTLER, Tudor Queens and Princesses.
 WALLACE, W., The History of England.
 WRIGHT, THOMAS, Queen Elizabeth and her Times.

Of the above fifty-three authorities, only the *eleven* in the following table have presented *any* of the nineteen defences cited in this work :

AIKIN.	RICHARDSON.
CREIGHTON.	STRICKLAND.
FROUDE.	STRYPE.
HUME, M. A. S.	TURNER.
LINGARD.	WRIGHT.
POLLARD.	

The following table shows which of the nineteen defences these eleven authorities have and have not presented to their readers :

<i>Defence</i>	<i>Cited only by</i>
No. 1. Cecil's letter to Mundt stating " that there is nothing more in their (Elizabeth and Dudley's) relations than that which is consistent with virtue and most foreign to the baser sort of love. . . . She could not love a real brother more."	LINGARD (In a very incomplete paraphrase)
No. 2. The French Ambassador de Foix says that Cecil " assured him with many oaths that . . . she loved the said Count . . . as a brother."	—
No. 3. Cecil writes to Sir Thomas Smith " Of my Lord of Leicester's absence . . . if your man tell you the tales of court or citie, they be fond (Foolish.—F. C.) and many untrue. Briefly I affirm, that the Queene's Majesty may be, by malicious tongs, not well reported, but in truth she herself is blame-	LINGARD STRICKLAND STRYPE WRIGHT

Defence

Cited only by

- less, and hath no spot of evill intent. Marry, there may lack specially in so busy a world circumspections to avoyde all occasions."
- No. 4. Cecil's comparative table stating that if the Queen marry Leicester "It will be thought that the slanderous speeches of the Queen with the Earl have been true."
- No. 5. Cecil writing "Here is a great resort of wooers . . . among lovers. Would to God the Queen had one."
- No. 6. The Spanish Ambassador, de Silva, reports to Philip II. that his colleague the Austrian Ambassador "sees a good many signs tending to this (That Leicester will marry the Queen.—F. C.) although certainly nothing wrong."
- No. 7. De Quadra, the Spanish Ambassador reports to Philip II. that he told Elizabeth that "Her Majesty might be sure that if there were anything which the Archduke should not hear (Were he to come to London.—F.C.) or learn, the idea of his coming would not have been entertained by us. . . ."
- No. 8. Elizabeth's declaration when she was believed to be *in extremis*, "that although she loved and had always loved Lord Robert dearly, as God was her witness, nothing improper had ever passed between them."
- No. 9. The statement of Catherine de Medicis that her son Anjou "said and swore to me he gave no credit to them (the tales he had heard against Elizabeth). He knew that she had so virtuously governed her realm this long time, that she must needs be a good and virtuous princess, and full of honour; and other opinion of her he could not have."

FROUDE
LINGARD
STRICKLAND

CREIGHTON

—

FROUDE

HUME,
M. A. S.
POLLARD
RICHARDSON

—

To the above is added her own testimony that she disbelieved the slanders, that they were set abroad by those opposing the match, and that of all princes "we women are subject to be slandered wrongfully of them that be our adversaries."

*Defence**Cited only by*

- No. 10. Chaloner to Cecil, saying of the tales about Elizabeth spread about on the Continent "I count the Slawnder most false." AIKIN
LINGARD
STRICKLAND
- No. 11. The Swedish Ambassador, Gyllenstjerna, writing to the King of Sweden who has sent him to negotiate a marriage for him with Elizabeth, says of her, "I saw no signs of an immodest life, but I did see many signs of chastity, of virginity, and of true modesty; so that I would stake my life itself that she is most chaste." —
- No. 12. Mundt, the English diplomatic agent in Germany, writes to Cecil, "Most horrid lies have been written from the French Court, Brussels, and Lorraine, by certain important but most impudent personages to the German princes concerning the Queen and her Master of the Horse (Leicester.—F. C.) . . . the writer knows most scandalous letters have been sent to him (The Elector Palatine.—F. C.), from Lower Germany." —
- No. 13. The Emperor Maximilian's Ambassador at London sent especially to negotiate a marriage between his son and Elizabeth, writes to his master that he finds Leicester "ever loved by the most serene Queen with sincere and most chaste and most honourable love as a true brother." —
- No. 14. The French Ambassador at London, Fénélon, writes to Catherine de Medicis when he had been continuously more than two years in London, that in Elizabeth's Court one "would see nothing irregular . . . and that . . . she rules . . . with complete authority. I conceive that this could not proceed from a person of evil fame or who was lacking in virtue." STRICKLAND
- No. 15. Hatton's letter to Elizabeth urging her "Love some man." FROUDE
RICHARDSON
- No. 16. The great historian, de Thou, a contemporary of Elizabeth, writes of her "The hatred of her religion has caused much evil to be said against her: but her long life . . . has sufficiently refuted the greatest part of it. . . . It seemed as if TURNER

Defence

Cited only by

she made it a diversion . . . to renew the remembrance of those fabulous islands, where noblemen and famous knights . . . wandered and piqued themselves on loving—but in a noble and virtuous manner, and into which there entered no impurity.”

- No. 17. Francis Osborne, who was about the Court at London for many years beginning within ten years after the death of Elizabeth, after citing that Henry the Great of France had said that it was “inscrutable to intelligence Whether Queen Elizabeth was a maid or no,” and declaring that Essex was not upon immoral terms with Elizabeth, concludes his treatment of the question: “Now whether these Amorosities were naturell, or meerely poetical and personated, I leave to conjecture.”
- RICHARDSON
TURNER
- No. 18. Bacon, always at Elizabeth’s Court and one of the closest to her daily life, says that Elizabeth’s love of being courted longer than “was decent for her years” was “often found in fabulous narrations; as that of ‘a certain queen in the fortunate isles, in whose court love was allowed, but lust banished.’ . . . This queen was certainly good and moral.”
- TURNER
- No. 19. Mauvissière, the exceedingly informed Frenchman who for ten years was his country’s Ambassador at Elizabeth’s Court, says in his *Mémoires*:
- STRICKLAND
TURNER
- “If some persons have wished to tax her falsely with having amorous attachments, I shall say with truth that these are inventions forged by the malevolent, and from the cabinets of some Ambassadors, to prevent those to whom it would have been most useful from making an alliance with her.”

It will be noted that of the eleven authorities who have cited any of the nineteen defences, only one has as many as five of them, only three have four, only five have three of them, while six of the eleven authorities have only one.

The following table shows which of the nineteen

defences each of the eleven authorities has exhibited to its readers :

<i>Authority</i>				<i>Defence offered</i>			
AIKIN	..	..	..	..	Our Number	10	
CREIGHTON	..	..	..	..	" "	5	
FROUDE	..	..	..	..	" "	4	
"	..	..	..	..	" "	7	
"	..	..	..	..	" "	15	
HUME, M. A. S.	..	..	..	..	" "	8	
LINGARD	..	..	..	..	" "	1	
"	..	..	..	..	" "	3	
"	..	..	..	..	" "	4	
"	..	..	..	..	" "	10	
POLLARD	..	..	..	..	" "	8	
RICHARDSON	..	..	..	..	" "	8	
"	..	..	..	..	" "	15	
"	..	..	..	..	" "	17	
STRICKLAND	..	..	..	..	" "	3	
"	..	..	..	..	" "	4	
"	..	..	..	..	" "	10	
"	..	..	..	..	" "	14	
"	..	..	..	..	" "	19	
STRYPE	..	..	..	..	" "	3	
TURNER	..	..	..	..	" "	16	
"	..	..	..	..	" "	17	
"	..	..	..	..	" "	18	
"	..	..	..	..	" "	19	
WRIGHT	..	..	..	..	" "	3	

Since substantially all the books dealing at length with Elizabeth which have been written since her death did not print the defences of the Queen and did print everything that could incriminate her, how could the world fail to conclude that she was guilty ?

The Great Queen has something now to say to you, across the centuries. Let her close this book :

" I am young, and he (Dudley.—F. C.) is young, and therefore we have been slandered. God knows, they do us grievous wrong, and the time will come when the world will know it also. My life is in the open, and I have so many witnesses that I cannot understand how so bad a judgment can have been formed of me. But what can we do ? We cannot cover every one's mouth, but must content ourselves with doing our

duty and trust in God, for the truth will at last be made manifest. He knows my heart, which is very different from what people think, as you will see some day."

Is not her prophecy now fulfilled? Do you not now know that the world has done her grievous wrong? Is not the truth at last made manifest?—and do you not now know her heart?

APPENDIX

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NOTE I

MEDICAL RECORD OF QUEEN ELIZABETH

(BORN, 7th SEPT., 1533 ; DIED, 24th MARCH, 1603)

A.—FAMILY HISTORY OF ELIZABETH

IN January, 1510, Catherine of Aragon, who had married Henry VIII. in the preceding year, gave birth to a stillborn child. A year later she had a son, who died the following month. A year and a half afterward there was another son stillborn, or dying immediately. Less than a year after that, in November, 1514, there was another son, who died as soon as christened. Mary, who later became queen, was born in 1516 ; there was certainly one miscarriage in 1517, and Prof. Pollard says at p. 177 of his life of Henry VIII., "it is probable that about this time the Queen had various miscarriages." In 1518 there was a stillborn daughter.

Henry took Anne Boleyn for his next wife, and about nine months afterward Elizabeth was born. In 1534, in the second year of their married life, Anne had a miscarriage, and in the beginning of 1536 she gave birth to a stillborn infant. Her immediate successor, Jane Seymour, died the following year in giving birth to King Edward, the last of Henry's progeny.

In 1519 Henry had the illegitimate Duke of Richmond by one of his wife's ladies-in-waiting. He died when seventeen, having apparently been in poor health, gradually failing for some time.

Edward's health broke down at fifteen, and then, according to the *Brit. Med. Jour.*, 1910, vol. i. p. 1303, under the title "Some Royal Death-Beds," "eruptions on his skin came out ; his hair fell off, and then his nails, and afterwards the joints of his toes and fingers." Then he died, three months before he reached sixteen.

When Mary arrived at sixteen, she broke down with a prolonged illness, and never had good health thereafter. Her colour was invariably sallow, and for many years she was never free from headache and palpitation of the heart. (*Venetian Cal.* 1553-4, 532.)

"Some personal infirmities under which she labours are the

causes to her of both public and private affliction ; to remedy these recourse is had to frequent blood-letting, and this is the real cause of her paleness and the general weakness of her frame.”—Rept. Ven. Ambass. in 1557, Ellis, 2 Ser. II. 236. The above-quoted article in the *B.M.J.* says this of Mary : “. . . her strength was further reduced by frequent bleedings ordered by her physicians. She had long suffered from a disease which she called her ‘ old guest.’ The chief symptom was amenorrhœa. Spencer Wells, in an address delivered before the Brit. Med. Assn. at Manchester in 1877, expressed the opinion that the disease was ovarian dropsy. Wells believed that she aborted early in her first and only real pregnancy. The disappointment no doubt weighed heavily on her mind. She became cachectic, and a subsequent enlargement of the abdomen gave rise to false hopes. For years before the end her health had been bad. As a girl she had suffered from scanty and painful menstruation, the result, it may be conjectured, of overstudy. In more advanced life, she was seldom free from headaches and palpitation of the heart, and her bodily ailments were doubtless aggravated by mental suffering.” She was a great sufferer from melancholy, and was so short-sighted that she could not read or study anything clearly without placing her eyes quite close to the object.

“ Henry VIII. suffered many years before his death from a ‘ sorre legge,’ . . .”—*Annals of the Barber Surg.*

“ In 1546 the life of Henry VIII. was coming to an end. From a handsome, athletic man he had become a mass of loathsome infirmities. He was bloated in face, and so unwieldy in body that he could not pass through an ordinary door, and could be moved from one room to another only by help of machinery, and a number of attendants. His legs were swollen and ulcerated, the festering sores causing an unbearable stench. Towards the end he could neither walk nor stand.” Above article in *B.M.J.*

“ Deaths due primarily to syphilis. Henry VIII. Edward VI.” *Deaths of the Kings of England*, p. 6, by James Rae, M.A., M.D.

NOTE 2

THE EARLIEST WRITING OF ELIZABETH

The search for the first writing of Elizabeth became exciting when we read in the second edition of Miss Strickland’s *Life of Elizabeth* (Colburn, 1851) at p. 17, note 2 : “ Her (Elizabeth’s) Italian exercise-book, written on fine vellum, is shown at the British Museum. Some of the tenses of the verbs, which

she perhaps wrote from memory, are incorrect, and are left so, having escaped the examination of her Italian master." Long before this came to our attention we had supposed that we had seen all the early specimens of Elizabeth's hand, no one of which appeared to conform to Miss Strickland's detailed description. At any rate, the search was most exhaustive, and it can be affirmed that there is not now and never has been any such book—that is, at the B.M. The remaining difficulty is to explain how so painstaking an author as Miss Strickland could have fallen into such an error.

Miss Strickland first published in 1842. At p. 18 of that edition is the following: "Among the royal manuscripts in the British Museum is a small volume, in an embroidered binding, consisting of prayers and meditations, selected from different English writers by Queen Katharine Parr, and translated and copied by the Princess Elizabeth, in Latin, French, and Italian. The volume is dedicated to Queen Katharine, and her initials, R.K.P., are introduced in the binding, between those of the Saviour, wrought in blue silk and silver thread by the hand of Elizabeth. The volume is dated Hertford, December 20, 1545." *But there is no mention of any exercise-book.* Upon taking up the *third* edition, 1864, we find no mention at all of the prayer-book, while there is this shorter mention of the exercise-book: "Her Italian exercise-book, written on fine vellum, is shown at the British Museum." Note 2, p. 12. In the abbreviated edition of 1867, the last in the life of the author, *there is mentioned neither prayer-book nor exercise-book.* Some quarter of a century after Miss Strickland had passed away, however, came the Everyman edition of her *Elizabeth*, which reverts to her first edition, describing the prayer-book, but omitting any reference to the exercise-book.

Under these circumstances the conclusion was forced that Miss Strickland had confused the prayer-book, part of which is in Italian, and a supposed Italian exercise-book which strictly speaking had no existence. Yet so elaborate an error is altogether unexampled in the work of Miss Strickland, and the same may be said of that of her sister Elizabeth, whose volumes were published in Agnes's name. Before leaving them, I wish to say that, considered from the point of view of research, reliability and range of their work, the Misses Strickland are in the first rank of English historians. Had they been men, they would have ranked with Gibbon for the solidity and indestructibility of their writings; in the estimation, that is to say, of the general public. Had they had the literary style of Froude or Macaulay *and* been born men, the sisters would have been acclaimed by all.

The only possible explanation with regard to the exercise-book might be disclosed could we secure the MSS. of Miss Strickland's work ; but here again we are baffled, for they are not to be found. They appear to have passed to Messrs. Macmillan many years ago, through Messrs. Bentley & Son when the latter business was taken over, and Messrs. Macmillan now write that they have lost all trace of the originals.

There are several theories upon which to explain the rather astonishing fact that despite the continuous presence of *The Mirror of the Sinful Soul* at the Bodleian since 1729, we are the first historian who appears ever to have seen it : one being that the British Museum and not the Bodleian was the chief working place of the writers involved. But the chief reason for the neglect of this volume, the most important, because it is by a full year the earliest and therefore the most pregnant with significance, of all the tangible evidences of the little girl's development, undoubtedly lies in the fact that Hearne in 1716 published in his book *Sylloge Epistolarum* (the first collection of English State Letters)—*in the form of an ordinary letter with nothing to distinguish it as being otherwise*—the dedication of the book to Katherine Parr ; and as this dedication recited that Elizabeth sent therewith her translation of the "lytell boke . . . intytled or named ye miroir or glasse of the synnefull soule," and there was nothing in print to indicate the existence of the book itself, the dedication has always passed as an early letter of Elizabeth that accompanied a book sent by her to the Queen which had disappeared, whereas the *dedication was an integral part of the volume itself*. This oversight, taken with the undisputed view that Hearne was of the very highest authority and accuracy, would of itself, indeed, probably have continued to deflect writers from the truth. Miss Strickland, for example, confines her detailed description of the early literary efforts of Elizabeth to the book of prayers—referred to in the preceding note—at the British Museum, and dismisses the earlier work at the Bodleian by a mere "The dedication by this princess of her elegant translation from the *Italian* (!) of the devotional treatise *The Glasse of Synnefull Soule*, to Queen Katharine, was doubtless an offering of gratitude no less than respect from Elizabeth to her royal step-mother." (1851 ed. p. 17.) Wiesener, at p. 19, vol. i., note, of his *The Youth of Queen Elizabeth*, refers to J. Stevenson's *Cal. State Pap.*, 1558-9, as his sole authority for the fact that Elizabeth at one time wrote the earlier translation, and we find Mr. Stevenson for his sole authority refers to Hearne. Mumby, in *The Girlhood of Queen Elizabeth*, at p. 24, follows Hearne's example, and merely prints the dedication in the guise of a separate letter, referring for his authority only to Miss Wood's *Letters of*

Royal and Illustrious Ladies—and the latter refers as her solitary source to p. 51 of a MS. in the Bodleian ; so that it is evident that neither Miss Strickland—the only general biographer of Elizabeth who has ever mentioned that there had been such a book—nor Wiesener nor Mumby, two special biographers, nor Miss Wood, knew that such a book could now be seen ; and no general historian has made even the remotest reference to the translation.

But besides this carelessness of Hearne, there is another accident in the history of this MS. that is extraordinary, and one that undoubtedly has had much to do with the obscurity in which it has been wrapped for over three hundred and fifty years. The occurrence is brought sharply forward by this sentence from Miss Strickland, 1851 ed. p. 17 : “ Camden mentions *A Godly Meditation of the Soule*, concerning Love towards Christe our Lorde ; translated by Elizabeth from the French.” We are entirely unable to discover any such reference in Camden, but that is relatively unimportant when we say that the work thus mentioned by Miss Strickland is the published, printed volume from the Bodleian MS. whose proper title is, not “ *A Godly Medytacyon of the christen Soule*,” but the title written in the original MS. in the hand of Elizabeth, “ *Ye Miroir of the Synnefull Soule*.” (Cf. first edition of original French work, published at Alençon, 1531, where the title is *Le miroir de lame pecheresse*.) The entirely unauthorized title of the published translation appears to have misled Miss Strickland and everybody else ; and curiously enough, the latest and most important victim of this error is the last authority of whom it should be expected ; we refer to Mr. H. H. E. Craster, Bodley’s assistant librarian. In *The English Historical Review* for October, 1914, we find at pp. 722–3 a bibliography of Queen Elizabeth’s translations by Mr. Craster, in which the error is persisted in, the *Miroir* being given as No. 1 of the list of “ Published Translations of which the Originals are extant,” while the Medytacyon, as No. 5, “ translated from the French by the Princess Elizabeth in 1547 ” heads the list of “ Published Translations of which the originals have not been traced ” ; and a letter from Mr. Craster in 1916 shows that he had not become aware of his error until we called it to his attention. His placing the translation in 1547 is of course three years too late.

The *Miroir*, then, all in Elizabeth’s hand, is not only of great value as the first known specimen of her handwriting—with only the possible exception of the Italian half-sheet letter of 31st July, 1544—but its 128 pages are the complete MS. of the only book she wrote that has ever appeared in print. This appeared in volume form when Elizabeth was fifteen, being printed probably in 1548, at Marburg. That there are verbal differences between the MS.

and the printed volume has no more significance than the difference that may usually be found between the MS. of any author and its printed version.

We wish that we might pose as the discoverer of the identity of the *Miroir* and the *Medytacyon*, but we have been anticipated by twenty years by Percy W. Ames, F.S.A., who perceived the truth when editing a facsimile of *The Miroir* for the Royal Society of Literature of the United Kingdom, in 1897 (Asher and Co., London), and we are glad of the opportunity to congratulate him upon apparently being the first to discover so important a fact that had escaped everybody for so many centuries. We expect, however, that he will be surprised to learn most of the above circumstances, as he makes no mention of them except in the remark (p. 11), "It is rather remarkable that this, her first literary work, should have received so little attention. It is not even mentioned by the majority of her numerous biographers," etc. There he drops the subject, evidently puzzled by the situation. (We regret to interpolate that Mr. Ames died before these words are printed.)

NOTE 3

ELIZABETH'S LETTER TO KATHERINE PARR

There is one fact about this letter which furnishes an instructive commentary upon the obligations imposed upon themselves by various historians, and upon the dangers to which exact interpreters of history are subjected if they choose to quote from any except original sources. Miss Agnes Strickland saw fit when she quoted this epistle—probably from motives of modesty—to alter the clauses "Your Grace being so great with child, and so sickly" (which is the text in Hearne's *Sylloge*, p. 165, the only authority quoted by the Misses Strickland), to "Your Grace being so sickly," a substitution which destroys the value of the letter as an index of the development, character and knowledge of Elizabeth at the time of its date.

Its antiquated orthography—note the use of "hit" for "it"—makes the document one of the most delightfully quaint that we have seen—while the phrase in which she asks for "knowledge from time to time how his busy childe dothe," a child who was not expected for thirty days, and her observation that "if I were at his birth no dowt I wolde se him beaton for the trobel he has put you to," is the first recorded exhibition of that playfulness in which the Queen often indulged.

And there is another circumstance to which attention must be called. Miss Strickland, as we have already noted, refers to Hearne as her sole authority for the text, making it evident that she neither

saw the original nor knew where it was—in the British Museum MSS. A more modern writer, Mumby, in *The Girlhood of Queen Elizabeth* (1909), at p. 37, prints a version of the letter, with the preface that “We have taken our text from Miss Strickland, after collating it with Hearne . . . as well as with the manuscript in the Smith collection now preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. . . . There is nothing in this manuscript, however, to indicate its source : it merely states : ‘ From an original ’ ” :

July 31 (1548).

Although your Highness's letters be most joyful to me in absence, yet, considering what pain it is to you to write, your Grace being so great with child, and so sickly, your commendation were enough in my lord's letter, I much rejoice at your health, with the well liking of the country, with my humble thanks that your Grace wished me with you till I were weary of that country. Your Highness were like to be cumbered, if I should not depart till I were weary of being with you ; although it were the worst soil in the world, your presence would make it pleasant. I cannot reprove my lord for not doing your commendations in his letter, for he did it ; and although he had not, yet I will not complain on him, for he shall be diligent to give me knowledge from time to time how his busy child doth ; and if I were at his birth, no doubt I would see him beaten, for the trouble he hath put you to. Master Denny and my lady, with humble thanks, prayeth most entirely for your Grace, praying the Almighty God to send you a most lucky deliverance ; and my mistresses wisheth no less, giving your Highness most humble thanks for her commendations. Written with very little leisure, this last day of July. Your humble daughter, ELIZABETH.

Mr. Mumby then becomes involved in an apparent problem precipitated by his discovery that a letter of almost the same phraseology is printed in the *Historia Overo Vita Di Elisabetta*, by the Italian, Gregorio Leti, ascribed by him to a period when Elizabeth was not *four* years of age, *i.e.* July 31, 1537. This may be seen on p. 19 of Mr. Mumby's work, where he prints an English translation of the letter from the French translation of 1694 from the original Italian issued at Amsterdam in 1693, which latter is, by more than a century, the first life of the Queen. Mr. Mumby's translation is as follows :

July 31, 1537.

Madame,—Although the letter which your Majesty has been good enough to write to me has consoled me very much for your absence, yet, knowing how it must trouble you to write in your present state of health, I should have accounted myself happy in learning news of you from the letters of the King, my father. I feel

the greatest pleasure in learning that your Majesty is well and that the country pleases you. I also thank your Majesty very humbly for the honour you do me in wishing to have me with you. I should think myself so happy to be there that I should never go far while I had the pleasure of being near your Majesty, and I should certainly overwhelm you with constant importunities, for the honour of your company would make the dullest place the most delightful in the world. I am under a great obligation to the King, my father, for so often giving me news of your health, but if he should forget to inform me I should not take it ill, provided he will let me hear from time to time of the child who is so soon to be born to him. If I should be there when he comes into the world, I do not know how I should keep myself from giving him a good beating in revenge for the pain he has made you suffer. Mr. and Mrs. Denny very humbly thank your Majesty for your kind remembrance of them, and pray to God for your happy delivery. My governess also thanks you and offers the same prayers for your Majesty. Written in haste on the last day of July, 1537. Your very humble servant and daughter, ELIZABETH.

On p. 19, Mr. Mumby says: "The question as to the origin of this letter (The last quoted above.—F. C.) is complicated by its striking similarity to one printed on p. 37, dated July 31 (1548), and addressed to Catherine Parr. There appears to be little room for doubt that both letters had a common origin, but in the absence of the document itself it is impossible to say whether, in the version just printed, Leti added the two important points in which it differs from the other—the reference to 'the King my father,' and the year '1537.'"

It must first be observed that the slight difference between the two documents of Mr. Mumby would have been still less had he made a real translation of Leti himself for the 1537 letter. That he did not do so (although he refers only to Leti for authority for its text) is surprising, although there is still the excuse—that of great modesty—that we made for Miss Strickland for exactly the same liberty with the sentence. Miss Strickland reads—against her only source, Hearne, as *infra*—"your grace being so sickly," which Mumby with even greater reserve softens into "your present state of health," referring to Leti's French translation for his sole authority. How unjustified this is may be disclosed by noting p. 125 of the 1694 Amsterdam French translation of Leti, the edition to which Mumby makes reference. The expression is "... l'état d'une grossesse aussi avancée," while the original Italian, printed at the same city one year before, which Mr. Mumby does not say that he ever consulted, is this, at p. 133: *nello stato dove si trova, così avanzata nella gravidanza*. Thus there is not the slightest

foundation for the reading either of Miss Strickland or of Mr. Mumby.

It is apparent that, irrespective of the varying dates of the two missives, they cannot both be originals. But even the dates are sufficient condemnation of the 1537 one, for it is scarcely worth while to assert that Elizabeth, prodigy as she was, wrote such a production at the age of four—less than that, in fact, by some five weeks. The world has never seen the child who at that time in her development could have obtained either the necessary ability or knowledge for such a task.

But we anticipate that there will be little difference as to the correct explanation of the situation, especially now that we have discovered the original. Leti was the historiographer of Charles II. (Mr. Mumby, p. 20, says that Leti did not occupy this position, but the fact that he is in error is too well established for dispute. *Vide Nouvelle Biog. Gen., Grand Dict. Univ., La Grande Ency., etc.*) To quote Mrs. Everett Green, as thorough and reliable a student of history as England has produced: "Leti, in writing his life of Elizabeth, had evidently access to many valuable original letters, some of which have now perished; but as those which remain prove, on comparison, to have been faithfully, though freely, translated by him, there is no reason whatever to doubt the authenticity of the remainder, though the originals are not known to be in existence."—Wood, *Letters of Roy. and Illust. Ladies*, vol. iii. p. 191, prefix to Letter No. LXXXVIII.

At the same time, we must record that Leti had two great faults, either of which is almost distracting to a careful worker, faults which deprived him of that fame which was within his grasp—for if he had combined strict accuracy with his enormous and undeniable industry, he could, with the facilities open to him only half a century or so after Elizabeth's death, have become the foundation of all the later histories of the Elizabethan era. The first fatal fault is an eagerness to translate—for all his work was in his Italian native tongue—the documents he discovered into the phrases in which they would have been written had their authors been his own contemporaries. But the substance, purpose, and arrangement of the original documents he respects. His other error—equally serious—is in his method of connecting documents, dates, and facts. His idea of history-writing was to quote as many facts, documents, and dates as he could collect, and join these together by the narrative calculated to produce the only result at which he aimed, namely, to write an entertaining and romantic story. The consequence is that he has been utterly discredited, so much so that as a rule historical writers do not accept as truth one word that he has compiled, and he is either ignored or condemned out of hand in all the usual authorities. For example, Lowndes's *Bib. Manual* dismisses him with this: "Leti was a voluminous writer, as may be seen in

the *Biographie Universelle*. His histories are nothing more than amusing romances."

Professor Pollard, University College, London, thus disposes of him :

"The earliest life of Queen Elizabeth is Gregorio Leti's . . . it is a romance garnished with a number of imaginary letters."—*Political Hist. of England*, vol. vi. p. 493. It would appear too severe to stigmatize "a number of letters" as "imaginary" because we no longer have the originals, and have no other account of them ; and the verdict as a whole is unfair since we *know*—because we have the originals—that many of the letters given by Leti are not "imaginary."

Now Leti discovered the original letter we are studying which was intended for Katherine Parr, and actually written 31st July, 1548, about a month before she was to give birth to the child of her latest spouse ; but the year does not appear specifically in the text, nor does the name of the addressee. So here we see Leti with this autograph letter—probably signed by Elizabeth, but certainly in her hand—seeking to settle for whom it was intended. It is evident that it is for *some* wife of Henry, and for *some* wife about to become a mother. The earliest of the eligible candidates, having *some* regard for the date of Elizabeth's birth, was indubitably the very lady upon whom Leti alights—Jane Seymour, the immediate successor of the little princess's mother. She was carrying Edward VI. on a "last day of July," for he was born upon the following 12th October, 1537 ; and Jane was the only one of Henry's wives who while in that relation to him furnished what appeared to Leti all the facts he required. The extreme youth of Elizabeth at that time was not in his eyes an obstacle to her authorship of the document, but only one more evidence of the great genius which he ascribes to her. There is also the possible view that Leti knew the real facts and was carried off his feet by a striving after startling effect. But his view we reject in favour of the first theory, *because Leti did not know that Katherine Parr on a "last day of July"—as well as Jane Seymour—was big with child*, although not by Henry but by the Admiral. The author's predicament, then, was this—that he had this astonishing letter from a child who could not have been four years of age when she penned it, because the only woman to whom it could have been addressed died less than three months later. Leti, therefore, *had* to ascribe the letter to 1537, and swallow his incredulity, and fall back upon his only resource for an explanation, namely, Elizabeth's precocity and genius. That our explanation is correct is quite evident from the fact that Leti nowhere mentions that Katherine was ever with child by the Admiral, or that she died at its birth ; he records her death (*Elisabetta*, tom. i. p. 189, 1693 ed.) with the simple remark that "she fell ill, and died the 20th of September, to the great regret of her husband." (The exact date of Katherine's demise was, however, thirteen days

earlier. Leti corrects it in the succeeding French edition which appeared in 1694.)

The rest, then, becomes simple, for having determined beyond cavil the date of the letter (at least to his own satisfaction), Leti saw no harm in replacing Elizabeth's expression "my Lordes lettar" with "the letters of the King, my father," and in altering a later "my Lord" to "the King, my father," for according to Leti's information the "Lord" referred to *was* "the King, my father." And, as the true date of the letter according to Leti's knowledge was 1537, he saw not the least harm in adding that to the original expression, "this last day of July."

NOTE 4

WHY POSTERITY IS IGNORANT OF QUEEN'S ILL-HEALTH

One of the principal reasons is quickly seen. It lies in the failure of our predecessors to comprehend the gravity of the complete breakdown in the Princess's fifteenth year, at "about mydsomer" (24th June, 1548). This misapprehension, we take it, is due to the fact that the historians lacked the knowledge of two circumstances: The existence of Items Nos. 1, 2, and 3—all confessions of Mrs. Ashley—and the dates of Nos. 4, 5, 6, 12, and 13, *ante*, in the Medical Record; 4, 5, and 6 carrying the aforesaid "mydsomer" illness to January, 1549, while 12 and 13 extend the same attack to September, 1552. The failure to discover Nos. 1, 2, and 3—the confessions of Ashley—was due merely to misfortune. Those once read, all writers would have gone on until they had unearthed the whole story. As we are considering the turning-point of Elizabeth's whole life, when almost in a day she changed from a strong girl into a weak, anæmic one, who was never robust again except for short periods, we are under obligation to offer the evidence in the fullest detail, especially as we have produced facts hitherto unknown.

We must first endeavour to make plain the difficulty in which the historians found themselves, *not knowing of the existence of these confessions of Mrs. Ashley*.

Miss Strickland, Wiesener, Mumby, Wood, etc., etc., had all the 14 first numbers of the Medical Record, except Nos. 1, 2, and 3—the three Ashley statements. All of these items bore dates except Nos. 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 12, 13, and 14—all letters of Elizabeth herself. This left these students only with two *dated* letters or statements referring to this illness, namely, Nos. 10 and 11, both dated within a week of one another, in September, 1550; and they knew of no other mention of illness thereafter for more than three years, when came No. 14*a*, December, 1553. This gave them an approximate

date (September, 1550) for the *termination* of this severe sickness. But what of its beginning? There they despaired. Miss Strickland met the difficulty in this fashion :

“ The severe illness which attacked her soon after the execution of the Admiral (He was beheaded 20th March, 1549.—F. C.) was, in all probability, caused by the severe mental sufferings she had undergone at that distressing period. . . . Her malady appears to have been so dangerous as to cause some alarm to the protector Somerset, who not only dispatched all the royal physicians to her aid, but shrewdly suspecting perhaps, that uneasiness about her pecuniary affairs and prospects might have something to do with her indisposition, he expedited the long-delayed sealing of her letters patent, and sent them to her with many kind messages both from himself and his wife. These courtesies elicited the following letter of acknowledgment from the royal invalid (No. 4). . . . Elizabeth was removed from Cheshunt to her house at Hatfield for change of air, but continued to languish and droop in pining sickness for many months. The opening of the new year 1550 found her still so much of an invalid as to be precluded from resuming her studies, which she had been compelled to abandon on account of her perilous state of health. She writes to the young king her brother, January 2 (No. 6), a pretty and pathetic letter in Latin, lamenting that she has not been able, according to her usual custom, to prepare some little token of her love as an offering of the season for his highness.” *

Note that she thus dates No. 6 as 2nd January, 1550. The remainder of the undated letters and the two dated ones in September, 1550 (Nos. 10 and 11), she ignores.

Miss Aikin makes no reference to any illness in 1548–1552.†

Wood says :

“ The following letters are inserted as specimens of the epistolary correspondence between the Princess Elizabeth and her brother. They are all translated from the Latin. . . . As they contain no points of internal evidence by which their dates can be clearly identified, they are, for the sake of connection, classed together.” ‡

Wood then prints Nos. 6, 5, 12, 13, and 14, dating, however, No. 13 as of 1550, leaving the remaining four with no dates.

Wiesener, coming next in order of time, some thirty years later, in *The Youth of Queen Elizabeth*, saw the letters, but prints only

* Strickland, ed. 1851, pp. 47, 48.

† *The Court and Times of Queen Elizabeth*.

‡ *Letters of Roy. and Illust. Ladies*, vol. iii. p. 221. Note preliminary to Letter No. CII.

one of them, No. 6, dating it, like Strickland, 2nd January, 1550. All the others he ignores; he neither quotes from them nor refers to them specifically. But his interpretation of them as a whole may be seen in the following:

“It must be said . . . that if . . . she was not shaken by the fall of him whom she loved, yet she received so painful and deep a wound that its effect upon her strength soon became visible. (As the Admiral was beheaded on the 20th of March, 1549, it becomes clear that Wiesener ascribes her illness as after and due to that death.) She nearly died of an illness caused by depression. The Protector sent her the King’s physicians; he despatched the letters-patent that had been delayed till then, and had taken so much of the Admiral’s attention. (Wiesener here, of course, shows us that he is familiar with No. 4.) . . . But it was not till the end of a year, that at last her youth gained the victory. . . . During the remainder of this terrible year the studies wherein she sought peace and solace were retarded by her want of strength. . . . But the disgrace she laboured under did not yet draw near its conclusion. More than ever did study serve her as a refuge. In proportion to her sensations of returning strength, she threw herself into it with increasing delight. . . . This was also the very time of the cruel trials she encountered, and the depression that followed them. . . . About the month of January, 1550, he (Roger Ascham, her tutor) slightly emancipated himself, as he afterwards stated, and he went to Cambridge to resume his interrupted studies. . . . However, in two years his lessons had completed and matured the lessons of Grindall, and made Elizabeth quite familiar with ancient Greek and Latin.”

There Wiesener drops the undated letters and their contents.

The next important biographer is Bishop Creighton—called by the *Encyclopædia Britannica* the writer of her “best biography,”* and Creighton makes no reference at all to any of these letters or to any illness during the period covered by them. He altogether ignores the letters and the sickness, and says of the Seymour Affair (p. 15)—after stating “On March 20, 1549, Seymour’s head fell on the scaffold,”—“This was a crushing experience for a girl of sixteen. It was undoubtedly the great crisis of Elizabeth’s life, and did more than anything else to form her character.” *En passant*,

* All the others are disposed of by these words: “. . . there are others by E. S. Beesly, Lucy Aikin, and T. Wright. (The latter is only a collection of letters—“A Series of Original Letters” as the title has it.—F.C.). See also A. Jessopp’s article in the *Dict. Nat. Biog.*”—Article on Elizabeth in *Ency. Brit.*, 11th ed. Miss Strickland’s work, the only one ever written, with the possible exception of Aikin’s, that even pretends to be complete, or that by any stretch of the imagination could be so considered, is not mentioned at all!—F.C.

I must also refer to a most significant error on the part of the same author, on p. 18, where he says "before the end of 1550 the Protector's power had fallen before the superior craft of John Dudley, Earl of Warwick." The Protector fell in the autumn of 1549.

Professor Beesly is the next biographer of the Queen (1903). He covers her whole career in 240 *duodecimo* pages and her entire life as Princess in four. He makes no reference whatever to *any* ill-health before her accession.

This leaves but one biographer to consider, although, properly speaking, he hardly lays claim to such a designation; for, as his title explains, *The Girlhood of Queen Elizabeth. A Narrative in Contemporary Letters*, he has merely made up a volume of reprints of letters, here and there accompanied by his observations thereon (1909).

This author, Mr. Mumby, notices the undated letters, and thus treats them on p. 63 :

"The following examples of the affectionate correspondence which passed between the young King and his favourite sister are all translated from the Latin, and are here reprinted from Mrs. Everett Green's *Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies*. Most of the originals are in the Bodleian Library. As they contain no points of internal evidence by which their full date can be determined, they are classed together for the sake of convenience." *

Mr. Mumby thereupon prints Nos. 6, 12, and 8, having previously used No. 4 as though dating from 1549. Like all his predecessors, he ignores the two *dated* letters, Nos. 11 and 12, which in so many words show that Elizabeth was still in bad health and very weak, in September, 1550, some months after all these authorities concluded that she had recovered—or, to be more exact, some months after the date they decided to *state* as that of the termination of this illness—for they had before them the two *dated* letters Nos. 10 and 12, both of September, 1550. More—they had Roger Ascham's statement that he remained two years

* How closely the minds of some historians work together is shown by a comparison of Mr. Mumby's introduction (p. 61) to No. 4, with Miss Strickland's remarks concerning the same letter. Mr. Mumby says: "the Protector also sent the royal physicians to her aid, and forwarded, with many kind messages both from himself and his wife, her long-delayed letters patent, shrewdly suspecting perhaps—as Miss Strickland suggests—that uneasiness about her pecuniary affairs might have something to do with her indisposition." Strickland wrote, as we have shown: "... Protector Somerset, who not only dispatched all the royal physicians to her aid, but shrewdly suspecting perhaps, that uneasiness about her pecuniary affairs and prospects might have something to do with her indisposition, he expedited the long-delayed sealing of her letters-patent, and sent them to her with many kind messages both from himself and his wife."

with Elizabeth, that he left her service as early as January, 1550, and that in those "two years she pursued the study of Greek and Latin under my tuition. . . . She read with me almost the whole of Cicero, and a great part of Livy : . . ." They noted, too, that Ascham did not mention that she suffered from ill-health during 1548 and 1549, when he said he had been with her. There was, furthermore, that letter of 2nd January (No. 6), referring to "my Lord Protector" and to her learning as "so wasted by the long duration of my illness," etc. They could not, as we have seen, agree on any date for that letter; they all let it severely alone, except Miss Strickland and Wiesener, who date it 1550; this despite the fact which they must have known, that *for long before that date there had been no Protector*. He had ceased to be in power by the 5th of the preceding October; the next day he was a fugitive; and it is inconceivable that Elizabeth, who, even at that early period, displayed the utmost exactitude in the use of titles, would have called Somerset after his fall by one which he had ceased to bear. And when we add the following extract from Mumby,* it will be seen that all the authorities who have mentioned this illness have placed it as occurring in, and lasting throughout, 1549—"She fell so seriously ill with depression during the ensuing year that her life was in danger."

With their data in this hopeless condition, the historians were in a sad quandary as to how to describe Elizabeth's life from the time she left the roof of Katherine Parr (During the week after Whitsuntide, 1548—say the middle of May.—F. C.) to March, 1551, when the girl came to Court. Miss Strickland was the first to grapple with the difficulty, and all her successors have followed her lead. Her interpretation is purely imaginary; yet without exact knowledge of the duration of Elizabeth's illness, it is probably as good a guess as could be found. It may be illustrated by this quotation:

"The disastrous termination of Elizabeth's first love-affair, appears to have had the salutary effect of inclining her to habits of a studious and reflective character. She was for a time under a cloud, and during the profound retirement in which she was doomed to remain, for at least a year, after the execution of the lord admiral (He was beheaded on 20th March, 1549.—F. C.), the energies of her active mind found employment and solace in the pursuits of learning. She assumed a grave and sedate demeanour. . . . Not in vain did Elizabeth labour to efface the memory of her early indiscretion, by establishing a reputation for learning and piety . . . Elizabeth . . . affected extreme simplicity of dress, in conformity to the mode

* P. 61.

which the rigid rules of the Calvinistic church of Geneva was rendering general among the stricter portion of those noble ladies who professed the doctrines of the Reformation. . . . On the 17th of March, 1551, she emerged from the profound retirement in which she had remained since her disgrace in 1549, and came in state to visit the king her brother." *

Miss Aikin follows immediately with this :

" The fall of Seymour and the disgrace and danger in which she had herself been involved, afforded Elizabeth a severe but useful lesson ; and the almost total silence of history respecting her during the remainder of her brother's reign (Seymour died 20th March, 1549, and Edward in July, 1553) furnishes a satisfactory indication of the extreme caution with which she now conducted herself." †

Wiesener, the next in chronological order, says :

" Elizabeth was called from her two years' banishment, and made a solemn entry into London, the 17th of March, 1551." ‡

Creighton writes :

" When she recovered from the shock of Seymour's death and could look around her, she saw that it was necessary to recover her character and restore her reputation. . . . Under her care (That of Lady Tyrwhit.—F. C.) Elizabeth once more lived a quiet and studious life . . . her love of simplicity soon passed away. Indeed it was never real. . . . She had been detected as a shameless coquette ; she adopted the attitude of a modest and pious maiden. . . . Elizabeth was summoned to Court (March, 1551) . . . Elizabeth appeared with studious simplicity . . . Elizabeth had achieved her end. She had established her character. Her ' maidenly apparel . . . made the noblemen's wives and daughters ashamed to be dressed and painted like peacocks.' " §

" And last of all this strange eventful history " we come to Mumby :

" With Admiral Seymour's blot on her escutcheon it was clearly Elizabeth's policy, if not her inclination, to cultivate a taste and reputation for piety and sedateness, and it is remarkable how soon she became a pattern of all the virtues. . . . Elizabeth's new rôle appears to have answered its purpose admirably. The young King,

* Strickland, 1851 ed., pp. 49-53.

† *The Court and Times of Queen Elizabeth*, Aikin, p. 56.

‡ *The Youth of Queen Elizabeth*, vol. i. p. 121.

§ *Queen Elizabeth*, Creighton, p. 17.

delighted to hear such good accounts of his former playmate, wrote for her portrait. . . . Ten months later (subsequent to 15th May, 1550) Elizabeth was permitted to leave the solitude of Hatfield, to which she had been restricted since her disgrace with Seymour, and to make a public entry into London. . . .”*

The reader will at once understand that there is not the slightest foundation in any contemporary document for these suggestions as to why Elizabeth was not oftener at Court, or abroad elsewhere. The only facts to be found, or that were then found, were that Elizabeth did not come to Court for nearly three years, and that she did love the apparel of a nun.

It was evident that there was something wrong, something wanting in these explanations. Our attention was first directed to the undated letters from Elizabeth describing or referring to her long illness. Being in her own hand, or signed by her or at her order, their contents could not be of higher authority.

We began, therefore, by a critical study of these letters. No previous statements as to their contents could be accepted. Every line of the letters themselves had to be examined, and the first clue came to light when we saw the original of No. 4, in the Public Record Office. Upon this letter, and in the hand of Mr. Robert Lemon who many years ago edited the *Calendar of State Papers (Domestic)*, 1547-1590, is this note: “When the Queen Dowager died Sept. ’48 Elizabeth was very ill—see Ashley’s confession 2 Feb., 1549.”

Here was something altogether new. No book states such a fact—and no book has ever yet quoted from, or referred to, any such confession of Ashley’s. All citations of any Ashley confession are to Haynes, thus locating the documents at Hatfield House. Either Mr. Lemon was in error, which was improbable, or else he had unearthed a paper heretofore unseen or at best unnoted by any writer during the last three centuries.

For long the hiding place of this document remained concealed. In vain were all possible sources in the writings of my predecessors sifted and sifted again—and then the confession (No. 2) appeared in the Record Office itself! “Incontinent after the death of the quene at Cheston,” it says, “when the said lady Elizabeth was seke.” That showed us that she was ill on or about the 7th of September, 1548, for it was on that date that Katherine Parr died. Then, among the same bundle of MSS., and immediately after this first discovery, there came to light two more confessions that had escaped all previous historians—Nos. 1 and 3; by the first of which

* *The Girlhood of Queen Elizabeth*, Mumby, pp. 63, 72 and 73.

Mrs. Ashley says on 4th February, 1549, speaking of Elizabeth, "She was furst syk about mydsomer"; and by the second, No. 3, on 12th February, 1549, referring to Elizabeth: "Sche beyng seke yn hyr bed," the context showing that she was talking about some period soon after the death of Katherine Parr (7th September), and certainly before the opening of 1549, when Seymour was about to be apprehended.

Here, then, we have the date of the commencement of the prolonged illness to which the undated letters refer—"about mydsomer" (24th June, 1548), and we have sworn evidence that Elizabeth was still "seke" and even was "seke yn hyr bed" after the death of the late queen on the ensuing 7th September.

We now have these two certain dates in 1548, and two others as certain two years later, *i.e.* the dated letters Nos. 10 and 11, of 15th and 22nd September, 1550, the former being that in which Elizabeth asks that Cecil will excuse "her hand . . . her . . . unhealth hath made it weaker, and so unsteady," and the latter, No. 11, that where she is said to have "been long troubled with rheums." (Probably rheumatism in this instance, as common colds—generally then referred to as "rheums"—could not have weakened her hand and made it unsteady, as described in No. 10, just mentioned.)

Can we procure other certain dates concerning this illness, which, as we have already shown, had lasted, if not continuously at least intermittently, for two years? The reply is in the affirmative. We can fix the dates of Nos. 12 and 13 beyond any question; and the result is that these letters, dated respectively 15th September and 22nd September, add two years to this period of illness. Here, then, we have a patient *first taken ill* in June, 1548, still abed in the following September, with a hand too weak to write firmly in 1550, two years after that September. Last of all comes her own testimony in April, *two years later still (in 1552)*, that the same "evil head," to which during the earlier periods of this illness she had often referred, had kept her from writing for nearly three weeks—this at a time when Edward was most desperately ill with the "measels and the small pokkes." *The record therefore covers a period of three years and ten months*; and to this we may add the almost necessary inference from No. 13, which carries the disease nearly half a year further!

On what authority do we make these statements? On that of the letters themselves. The contention will be found proved as soon as we lay before you one bit of evidence which they do not contain, which happens to be the only fact that the historians required to solve *their* difficulty, so far as these two letters, Nos. 12

and 13, are concerned. With this little additional knowledge, they would have discovered *all* about this illness and so been able—instead of having to fall back upon pure conjecture—to give the *real* reason why Elizabeth lived a retired life in these four years.

Let us read, with unimportant abridgment, these two most important letters, taking first No. 12 :

“ What cause I had of sorrow, when I first heard of your Majesty’s sickness, all men might guess. . . . But, as the sorrow could not be little . . . so is the joy great to hear of your good escape out of the perilous diseases. And, that I am fully satisfied and well assured of the same by your Grace’s own hand, I must need give my most humble thanks. . . . For now do I say with Saint Austin, that a disease is to be accounted no sickness, that shall cause a better health when it is past, than was assured afore it came. For afore you had them, every man thought that that should not be eschewed of you that was not escaped of many. But since you have had *them* doubt of them is past, and hope is given to all men, that it was a purgation by these means for other worse diseases, which might happen this year. Moreover, I consider that, as a good father, that loves his child dearly, doth punish him sharply, so *God favouring your Majesty greatly, hath chastened you straitly ; and, as a father doth it for the further good of his child, so hath God prepared this for the better health of your Grace.*

“ And, in this hope, I commit your Majesty to His hands, most humbly craving pardon of your Grace that I did write no sooner ; desiring you to attribute the fault to my evil head, and not to my slothful hand. From Hatfield, this 21st of April.

“ Your majesty’s most humble sister to command,
“ ELIZABETH.”

It will at once occur to the reader that the obvious clue to the *year* in which this letter was written must be found in the ill-health of Edward at some time not far prior to *some* 21st April. This must have come to the minds of the former historians, and it would make a fascinating story had we the reasons why they did not pursue the hint so plainly supplied.

We took up the clue that they neglected, and now lay before the world “ the best evidence ” (to use the legal term) which can unlock this secret, although there is other ample testimony to the same effect in the common knowledge of all students of the period. The state of Edward VI.’s health after his ascension * is definitely

* Henry VIII. died on the 28th of January, 1547—strangely ascribed by Creighton on p. 8 to 1546 ; and his failure to use the Old Style in all other instances in his work cannot afford him protection in this particular case.

stated in a number of documents other than those we propose to quote.

The chief witness we shall call for "the best evidence" is the best that could be found in Edward VI.'s own time—Edward VI. himself; and the document containing the evidence is his own diary, all in his own hand, a paper folio volume of 68 leaves of $12\frac{1}{2}$ ins. by $8\frac{1}{2}$ ins.* This book covers his entire career up to the end of November, 1552, when he was just entering upon that fatal illness, that, seven months later, was to carry him to his grave. The last entry of all in the book is at the top of a page in the centre of which, several inches below, he writes in a large hand which, where penmanship is concerned, shows a great deterioration from all that precedes, these prophetic words: "*Laus deo FINIS.*" One cannot but feel that the poor little fellow, condemned from his birth to the most awful of deaths, must have known when he added those scrawling words to his pitifully short story that he was near to his own *Finis*. If he did know of it, what must have been his thoughts!

Now what we must do, in order to be absolutely certain of the year of the 21st April letter, is to find *some* April in which no less than four things occur, namely: (1) Elizabeth at Hatfield on the 21st; (2) Edward ill, and ill with (3) more than one serious disease (for the letter says "diseses" and twice refers to such afflictions as "them"); and (4) that he was much improved by the 21st.

We may eliminate rapidly several of the possible years, which, observe, must be confined to 1547, 1548, 1549, 1550, 1551, 1552, and 1553, that is, from the opening of Edward's reign on 28th January, 1547, to his death in July, 1553. At no time in 1547 after the death of Henry VIII. was Elizabeth at Hatfield. In the preceding December she had been made to take up her residence at Enfield, and she was not again at Hatfield until the late autumn of 1548. She remained at Enfield until her father's death, and thenceforth, until after Whitsuntide, in May, 1548, was in the household of Katherine Parr, whose husband, the Admiral, as we have seen, made love to the princess. These facts in themselves dispose of 1547 and 1548, even if there were no other evidence; but there is, indeed, a plethora, if the reader will look for it. But we mention only two details; first, that there is no mention in Edward's diary of illness in these two years, and, that there is no mention in any contemporary document yet discovered of any illness of his in 1547 or 1548, while the official documents of the time show his continuous activity. We now come to 1549; in April of that year

* Brit. Mus. MS. Cott. Nero, C. X.

Elizabeth *was* at Hatfield, and probably there with an "evil head," but we find no reference in Edward's diary to any illness of his own. No contemporary or other evidence that suggests such an illness—and again all the official documents discover his continuous and normal activity.

In the following year, 1550, when on 24th March the diary becomes a day to day one, and so continues throughout the MS., we have more detailed accounts of the boy's life, and from then until the last entry, late in November, 1552, we need not look elsewhere for information.

In this March of 1550, there is an entry on the 24th, the 25th, the 29th, the 30th, and the 31st. In April there is a daily entry up to the 21st, except upon the 1st, 4th, 13th, 14th, 15th, and 17th. No illness is referred to; the days omitted do not give time for any serious affection; and all the extraneous evidence, official or contemporary, discloses the boy to be in good health.

In 1551, the diary has entries in April for every day except the 2nd, 4th, 13th, 14th, 17th, 18th, and 19th up to the 21st, the date of our letter, and still no hint of sickness, and all the other contemporaneous documents show the boy still well.

Let us first dispose of 1553, the last April of Edward's life. There will be no dispute that for several months before that, he had been growing steadily worse with his fatal illness, which, as we have already shown, was of a progressive nature. So there is no chance that in April he could have been recovering from any two or more illnesses; and all the contemporaneous documents show his desperate state at the period concerned.

This, then, leaves us 1552 as the only possible year that will fulfil our four requirements; and now as we turn the pages of Edward's diary for April of that year, we find on page 58 *verso*, *et seq.*, these entries:

APRILE.

2. I fell sike of the mesels and the small pokkes.

* * * * *

15. The parliment brake up, and bicause I was sike, and not able to goe wel abroad as then, I signed a bil containing the names of the actes wich I wold have passe. . . .

* * * * *

30. Removing to Greenwich.

Now there remains but one fact to be established, namely, that Elizabeth was then at Hatfield. There are several ways of doing so—but the fact is sufficient that then, and for years before and

afterward, she made her home nowhere else, and there is no record suggesting her temporary absence on this date, and her presence elsewhere would inevitably have been chronicled. But we can do better than this rather negative evidence, through the MS. Household Account of Elizabeth's establishment for the year 1st October, 1551, to 1st October, 1552.* This shows that on the 20th of April, 1552, the day before the date of Elizabeth's letter, "Beamonde, the King's servaunte," was paid at Hatfield by Parry, Elizabeth's cofferer, "for his boies which plaid before her grace—X.s."—and the item immediately following shows a payment to "Mrs. Carrye, at her departing from Hatfelde, IIII. li." Scores of other items show further payments day by day for the several months following—so we are certain that this 21st April letter is of 1552; for we have shown not only that *in no other year could it have been written*, but also that in 1552 *all the four things we had to prove are demonstrated*: 1. Elizabeth was at Hatfield on the day of the month upon which the letter was dated; 2. Edward for several weeks prior thereto had been ill; and, 3, ill with two or more diseases; and from the fact that he moved to Greenwich, some ten miles, on the 30th, we must admit, 4, that he was improving as recently as the 21st.

* *Camden Miscellany*, vol. ii. p. 39, 2nd item. Miss Strickland and the famous antiquarian, Thomas Astle, F.R.S. and F.A.S. (the latter now F.S.A.), have fallen into a curious error with respect to this MS. In 1807, Astle, one of the two chief compilers of the Antiquarian Repertory, communicates thereto an article covering this account, giving the date in his heading as 1553; and in his text he states that the items are "for one year ending Oct. 30th in the 6th year of the reign of her brother Edward VI. A.D. 1553. . . . The MS. . . . was in the possession of Gustavus Brander, Esq."

Miss Strickland, writing nearly half a century later, comes across Astle's article, and quotes copiously from it, adopting his dates, namely, Oct. 1552 to Oct. 1553. She also prints extracts from what she styles a similar MS. "in the possession of lord Strangford" covering the household expenses ". . . from Oct. 1st, 5th of Edward VI. to the last day of September in the 6th year of that prince." In her haste, Miss Strickland unquestioningly adopts Astle's dates for the Brander book, namely, for the period Oct. 1552 to Oct. 1553, and at the same time adopts Strangford's date for *his* book, *i.e.* Oct. 1551 to Oct. 1552, thus giving apparently two successive books covering two successive years—Oct. 1551 to Oct. 1553.

The fact is that there has never been more than one book. Miss Strickland is first misled by Astle into the chronological error of placing his Brander MS. a whole year too late. The MS. itself says on its first page that it is "From the first daie of October in the fite yere of the raigne of . . . Edward the sixte . . . unto the last daye of September of the Vjth yere of his Ma^{ties} moste prosperouse raigne."

Mr. Astle says that October, 1552, is in the 5th year of Edward VI., and that October in the 6th of that monarch is in 1553. Mr. Astle, of course, is a year too late in each case; and Miss Strickland had not learned that *Brander had sold his MSS. to Strangford*, with several intermediate transactions. There is, moreover, no foundation for Mr. Astle's statement that the account closed upon any Oct. 30th—he should have said *Sept.* 30th.

And we may now give a date to our No. 13, which, by almost necessary inference, carries her own invalidism five months further still—*four months into its fifth consecutive year*. This letter is as follows :

“ I hope, most illustrious King, that I shall readily obtain pardon that for such a long interval of time you have received from me so few letters either returning thanks for your benefits or at least bearing witness to my due regard for you, especially as no kind of forgetfulness of you whom I never can or ought to forget has been the cause of the delay. *Now, however, as I understand your majesty is sojourning in places not far from London*, I have thought I ought to break silence. . . . While I recount severally the blessings of the great and good God, I indeed judge this one to be the greatest of all—that he hath quickly and mercifully restored you again to London, after your late disease ; *into which I think you had fallen by God’s especial providence (as in my last letter I wrote to your majesty), in order that, the cause of the diseases having been now removed, you may be preserved, to the greatest length of years, to handle the reins of Government.* . . . Since, then, the life of every one is not merely exposed to, but is overcome by, so many and so great accidents, we judge that your last disease has been removed by the special mercy of Divine Providence ; and in all those so frequent changes of air and of places (which I know have been not entirely free from diseases) that you have been preserved, by a miracle, from any peril of infection. . . .

“ At Ashridge, 20th of September.

“ To the most illustrious and noble Your majesty’s very humble sister king Edward the Sixtx.

“ ELIZABETH.”

From the first italicized words in this letter we know that Edward “ is sojourning in places not far from London ; ” and from the last words italicized we learn that the King has lately made “ all those so frequent changes of air and of places.” The letter is of *some* September 20th, and we must place Edward so as to fulfil the requirements of these two quotations. His diary is again decisive. We need turn no further back than to 1550. In the three months preceding 20th September of that year, Edward was at Greenwich on 25th June, at Windsor on 23rd June, at Guildford on 12th August, at Woking on 20th August, on 8th September at Nonesuch, and on the 15th at Oteland. Plainly 1550 will not apply.

The year 1551 is even more remotely improbable. In the three months preceding 20th September, Edward moved only to Hampton Court on 11th July, to Windsor on 22nd August, to Farnham on 10th September, and on the 18th to Windsor.

In 1552, however, Edward went on Progress, leaving London on the 27th of June, and not returning to the vicinity of London until 12th September, when he came to Reading from Donnington Castle, finally completing his visits three days later, when he went to Windsor. He visited 23 places on this journey, on the way to and from Southampton, by way of Portsmouth. The last month of the trip is consumed by the return from the latter city. He left it on the 16th, when Beaulieu was reached, two days later Christchurch, three later Woodlands, three later Salisbury, five later Wilton, four later Motisfont, three later Winchester, two later Basing, thence in three days to Donnington Castle. As already stated, Reading was reached in two days, on 12th September, and the trip came to its close with the arrival at Windsor on the 15th, five days before Elizabeth wrote her letter. Plainly 1552 satisfies the conditions demanded.

The reader, however, will not have failed to notice in the remaining italicized portion of the letter phrases which seem familiar ; for it was only a few moments ago that he read in the 21st April letter (No. 12) quoted *in extenso* :

“ For now do I say with Saint Austin that a disease is to be accounted no sickness, that shall cause a better health when it is past, than was assured afore it came. For afore you had them, every man thought that that should not be eschewed of you that was not escaped of many. But since you have had them doubt of them is past, and hope is given to all men, that it was a purgation by these means for other worse diseases, which might happen this year. Moreover, I consider that, as a good father, that loves his child dearly, doth punish him sharply, so God, favouring your Majesty greatly, hath chastened you straitly ; and, as a father doth it for the further good of his child, so hath God prepared this for the better health of your Grace.”

That is patently the sentiment referred to in the letter (No. 13) from Ashridge on 20th September, when Elizabeth refers to Edward's “ late disease ; into which I think you had fallen by God's especial providence . . . in order that, the cause of the diseases having been now removed, you may be preserved. . . . ”

There can, therefore, be little reasonable doubt that this letter (No. 13, of 20th September) dates from 1552 ; and it seems almost certain that Elizabeth can have in mind only an illness of hers already well known to the King when she writes : “ I hope . . . that I shall readily obtain pardon for that such a long interval of time you have received from me so few letters . . . especially as no kind of forgetfulness of you . . . has been the cause of the delay.”

We know, by No. 12, that on 21st April, five months before, Elizabeth writes craving pardon "that I did write no sooner; desiring you to attribute the fault to my evil head." If she did not know that Edward was aware of her continuous illness when she wrote the September letter, or, if she had had any other excuse for her seeming neglect, she would doubtless have said so much. The weight of the evidence, surely, is that she was still afflicted with that same "evil head" late in September, 1552. If the inference be sound, we may be practically certain that Elizabeth was in the anæmic state already described, for more than four consecutive years; we know, moreover, that she had not recovered even when four years and four months had elapsed—that is, by 20th September, 1552. As a most desperate illness began fourteen months later (December, 1553, Med. Rec. No. 14A), and as the entire interim had been filled with the greatest anxieties (the fatal illness of Edward, her prevention from seeing him, the conspiracy to disinherit her when she could not be got out of the country, or bribed or frightened into compliance with the scheme of the Dudleys to seize the throne through Lady Jane Gray, and the contest of Mary for her rights), it seems most likely that these two illnesses overlapped. If so, we must conclude that the Princess Elizabeth was never well from the middle of 1548 up to at least April, 1557 (Med. Rec. Nos. 14A to 29).

Most of the items in the Medical Record were known to all writers on Elizabeth, *but, lacking the particulars of the first illness, the starting point of all her life struggle with disease, nearly all of them confined themselves to the political aspects of her time. Confronted besides with a bibliography unanimous in opinion that Elizabeth was a physical giant without nerves, they failed to pursue to their logical conclusion scores of significant indications as to frequent ill-health; not to mention most desperate illnesses, any one of which, even had she been of the most exceptional physique, would have ruined her health for life.*

Such are the best reasons we can devise for the misunderstanding that has so long persisted; and yet its long life is still astounding. It must always rank as one of the most remarkable phenomena in historical writing.

NOTE 5

THE STORY OF ARTHUR DUDLEY

The following is all the evidence known concerning that Arthur Dudley who claimed to be a son of Leicester and Elizabeth.

(a) IN SPAIN

“Relation made to Sir Francis Englefield by an Englishman named Arthur Dudley, claiming to be the son of Queen Elizabeth.

“Imprimis, he said that a man named Robert Southern, a servant of Catharine Ashley (who had been governess to the Queen in her youth, and was for ever afterwards one of her most beloved and intimate ladies), which Southern was married, and lived twenty leagues from London, was summoned to Hampton Court. When he arrived, another lady of the Queen’s court, named Harrington, asked him to obtain a nurse for a new-born child of a lady who had been so careless of her honour that, if it became known, it would bring great shame upon all the company, and would highly displease the Queen if she knew of it. The next morning, in a corridor leading to the Queen’s private chamber, the child was given to the man, who was told that its name was Arthur. The man took the child, and gave it for some days to the wife of a miller of Molesey to suckle. He afterwards took it to a village near where he lived, 20 leagues from London, where the child remained until it was weaned. He then took it to his own house, and brought it up with his own children, in place of one of his which had died of similar age.

“Some years afterwards the man Robert, who lived very humbly at home, left his own family, and took this Arthur on horseback to London, where he had him brought up with great care and delicacy, whilst his own wife and children were left in his village.

“When the child was about eight years old, John Ashley, the husband of Catharine Ashley, who was one of the Queen’s gentlemen of the chamber, gave to Robert the post of lieutenant of his office as keeper of one of the Queen’s houses called Enfield, three leagues from London; and during the summer, or when there was any plague or sickness in London, Arthur was taught and kept in this house, the winters being passed in London. He was taught Latin, Italian, and French, music, arms, and dancing. When he was about 14 or 15, being desirous of seeing strange lands, and having had some disagreement, he stole from a purse of this Robert as many silver pieces as he could grasp in his hand, about 70 reals, and fled to a port in Wales called Milford Haven, with the intention of embarking for Spain, which country he had always wished to see. Whilst he was there awaiting his passage in the house of a gentleman named George Devereux, a brother of the late Earl of Essex, a horse messenger came in search of him with a letter, signed by seven members of the Council, ordering him to be brought to London. The tenour of this letter showed him to be a person of more importance than the son of Robert Southern. This letter still remains

in the castle of Llanfear, in the hands of George Devereux, and was seen and read by Richard Jones and John Ap Morgan, then magistrates of the town of Pembroke, who agreed that the respect thus shown to the lad by the Council proved him to be a different sort of person from what he had commonly been regarded.

"When he was conveyed to London, to a palace called Pickering Place, and he found there Wotton, of Kent, Thomas Heneage, and John Ashley, who reproved him for running away in that manner, and gave him to understand that it was John Ashley who had paid for his education, and not Robert Southern. He thinks that the letter of the Council also said this.

"Some time afterwards, being in London, and still expressing a desire to see foreign lands, John Ashley, finding that all persuasions to the contrary were unavailing, obtained letters of recommendation to M. de la Noue, a French colonel then in the service of the States. He was entrusted for his passage to a servant of the Earl of Leicester, who pretended to be going to Flanders on his own affairs, and he landed at Ostend in the summer of 1580, proceeding afterwards to Bruges, where he remained until La Noue was taken prisoner.* This deranged his plans, and, taking leave of the Earl of Leicester's gentleman, he went to France, where he remained until his money was spent; after which he returned to England for a fresh supply. He again returned to France, whence he was recalled at the end of 1583 by letters from Robert Southern, saying that his return to England would be greatly to his advantage.

"When he arrived in England, he found Robert very ill of paralysis at Evesham, where he was keeping an inn, his master having sold the office of keeper of Enfield. Robert, with many tears, told him he was not his father, nor had he paid for his bringing up, as might easily be seen by the different way in which his own children had been reared. Arthur begged him to tell him who his parents were, but Robert excused himself, saying that both their lives depended upon it, besides the danger of ruining other friends who did not deserve such a return.

"Arthur took leave of Robert in anger, as he could not obtain the information he desired, and Robert sent a lad after him to call him back. Arthur refused to return unless he promised to tell him whose son he was. Robert also sent the schoolmaster Smyth, a Catholic, after him, who gravely reproved him for what he was doing, and at last brought him back to Robert. The latter then told him secretly that he was the son of the earl of Leicester and the Queen, with many other things unnecessary to be set down here.

* La Noue was taken prisoner on the 15th May, 1580.

He added that he had no authority to tell him this ; but did so for the discharge of his own conscience, as he was ill and near death. Arthur begged him to give him the confession in writing, but he could not write, as his hand was paralysed, and Arthur sent to London to seek medicines for him. He got some from Dr. Hector (Nuñez), but they did no good ; so, without bidding farewell to Robert, he took his horse and returned to London, where, finding John Ashley, and a gentleman named Drury, he related to them what Robert had told him. They exhibited great alarm at learning the thing had been discovered, and prayed him not to repeat it, recommending him to keep near the court ; and promising him if he followed their advice, he might count upon their best services whilst they lived. They told him that they had no means of communicating with the Earl, except through his brother the Earl of Warwick.

“ The great fear displayed by John Ashley and the others, when they knew that the affair was discovered, alarmed Arthur to such an extent that he fled to France. On his arrival at Eu in Normandy he went to the Jesuit College there in search of advice. After he had somewhat obscurely stated his case, the Rector, seeing that the matter was a great one and foreign to his profession, dismissed him at once, and told him he had better go to the duke of Guise, which he promised to do, although he had no intention of doing it, thinking that it would be impolitic for him to divulge his condition to Frenchmen. When he was in Paris, he went to the Jesuit College there, with the intention of divulging his secret to an English father named Father Thomas ; but when he arrived in his presence he was so overcome with terror that he could not say a word. The Commissioners of the States of Flanders being in Paris at the time, to offer their allegiance to the king of France, and there being also a talk about a league being arranged by the Duke of Guise, Arthur feared that some plans might be hatching against England, and repented of coming to France at all. He thereupon wrote several letters to John Ashley, but could get no reply. He also wrote to Edward Stafford, the English Ambassador in France, without saying his name, and when the ambassador desired to know who he was, he replied that he had been reared by Robert Southern, whom the Queen knew, and whose memory she had reason to have graven on her heart.

“ He remained in France until he had cause to believe that the Queen of England would take the States of Flanders under her protection, and that a war might ensue. He then returned to England in the ship belonging to one Nicholson of Ratcliff. The said master threatened him when they arrived at Gravesend that

he would hand him over to the justices for his own safety. Arthur begged him rather to take him to the earl of Leicester first, and wrote a letter to the Earl, which Nicholson delivered. The Earl received the letter, and thanked the bearer for his service, of which Nicholson frequently boasted. The next morning, as the ship was passing Greenwich on its way to London, two of the Earl's gentlemen came on board to visit him, one of them named Blount, the Earl's equerry. When they arrived at Ratcliff, Flud, the Earl's secretary, came to take Arthur to Greenwich. The Earl was in the garden with the Earls of Derby and Shrewsbury, and on Arthur's arrival the earl of Leicester left the others, and went to his apartment, where by his tears, words, and other demonstrations he showed so much affection for Arthur that the latter believed he understood the Earl's deep intentions towards him. The secretary remained in Arthur's company all night, and the next morning, on the Earl learning that the masters and crews of the other ships that had sailed in their company had seen and known Arthur, and had gone to Secretary Walsingham to give an account of their passengers, he said to Arthur, 'You are like a ship under full sail at sea, pretty to look upon, but dangerous to deal with.' The Earl then sent his secretary with Arthur to Secretary Walsingham, to tell him that he (Arthur) was a friend of the Earl's, and Flud was also to say that he knew him. Walsingham replied that if that were the case he could go on his way. Flud asked for a certificate and licence to enable Arthur to avoid future molestation, and Walsingham thereupon told Arthur to come to him again, and he would speak to him. On that day Arthur went with the Earl to his house at Wanstead, and returned with Flud in the evening to Greenwich. The Earl again sent to Walsingham for the licence; but as Walsingham examined him very curiously, and deferred giving him the paper, Arthur was afraid to return to his presence. He therefore went to London and asked M. de la Mauvissière to give him a passport for France, which, after much difficulty, he obtained in the guise of a servant of the ambassador. He supped that night with the ambassador, and was with him until midnight, but, on arriving at Gravesend the next morning, he found that the passport would carry him no further without being presented to Lord Cobham. As he found there an English hulk, loaded with English soldiers for Flanders, he entered into their company and landed at Bergen-op-Zoom. He was selected to accompany one Gawen, a lieutenant of Captain Willson, and a sergeant of Colonel Norris, to beg the States for some aid in money for the English troops, who were in great need.

"The paper then relates at length Arthur's plot with one

Seymour to deliver the town of Tele to the Spaniards, which plot was discovered. His adventures at Cologne and elsewhere are also recounted. He opened up communications with the elector of Cologne and the Pope, and indirectly the duke of Parma learnt his story, and sent Count Paul Strozzi to interview him. After many wanderings about Germany, he received a messenger from the Earl of Leicester at Sighen, but to what effect he does not say. He then undertook a pilgrimage to Our Lady of Montserrat, and, on learning in Spain of the condemnation of Mary Stuart, he started for France, but was shipwrecked on the Biscay coast, and captured by the Spaniards as suspicious person, and was brought to Madrid, where he made his statement to Englefield. (The latter portion of the statement is not here given at length, as it has no bearing upon Arthur Dudley's alleged parentage.)

"The above statement was accompanied by a private letter from Arthur Dudley to Sir Francis Englefield as follows :

"As time allowed I have written all this, although as you see my paper has run short. If God grants that his Majesty should take me under his protection, I think it will be necessary to spread a rumour that I have escaped, as everybody knows now that I am here, and my residence in future can be kept secret. I could then write simply and sincerely to the earl of Leicester all that has happened to me, in order to keep in his good graces ; and I could also publish a book to any effect that might be considered desirable, in which I should show myself to be everybody's friend and nobody's foe. With regard to the king of Scotland, in whose favour you quote the law, I also have read our English books, but you must not forget that when the din of arms is heard the laws are not audible ; and if it is licit to break the law for any reason, it is licit to do so to obtain dominion. Besides which, if this reason was a sufficiently strong one to bring about the death of the mother, the life of the son might run a similar risk. Those who have power have right on their side. As for the earl of Huntingdon, and Beauchamp, son of the earl of Hertford, both of them are descendants of Adam, and perhaps there is some one else who is their elder brother.

"Attached to this document there is another memorandum from Englefield as follows :

"I recollect that this Arthur Dudley amongst other things repeated several times that for many years past the earl of Leicester had been the mortal enemy of the queen of Scots, and that the condemnation and execution of Throgmorton, Parry, and many others had been principally brought about in order to give an excuse for what was afterwards done with the queen of Scots.

"I think it very probable that the revelations that this lad is making everywhere may originate in the queen of England and her Council, and possibly with an object that Arthur himself does not yet understand. Perhaps, if they have determined to do away with the Scottish throne, they may encourage this lad to profess catholicism, and claim to be the Queen's son, in order to discover the minds of other Princes as to his pretensions, and the Queen may thereupon acknowledge him, or give him such other position as to neighbouring Princes may appear favourable. Or perhaps in some other way they may be making use of him for their iniquitous ends. I think also that the enclosed questions should be put to him to answer in writing—whether all at once or at various times I leave to you. I also leave for your consideration whether it would not be well to bring Arthur to San Geronimo, the Atocha, or some other monastery, or other house, where he might be more commodiously communicated with."—*Cal. S. P., Simancas*, vol. iv. p. 101. June 17, 1587.

"Sir Francis Englefield to the King.

"Very late last night Andres de Alba sent me what Arthur Dudley has written, which being in English, and filling three sheets of paper, will take some days to translate and summarize in Spanish.

"As, however, I have read it, I think well in the meantime to advise your Majesty that the effect of it is a discourse about his education, with the reasons and arguments which have led him to believe to be, as he calls himself, the son of the Queen. He then gives an account of his voyages away from England, in France and Flanders, showing that they had no other intention or motive than a desire, on his first voyage, to see strange countries. He returned in consequence of poverty, and subsequently set out on his second voyage for his own safety's sake. He mentions several things that happened in France and Flanders, and speaks of the letters that passed between him and the elector of Cologne, and says that his reason for coming to this country was a vow he had made to visit Our Lady of Montserrat, where he was shriven on the 13th of October of last year. He enumerates certain places in Spain where he has stayed, and the persons he has been living with. He adds that his intention was to go to France when he was detained in Giupuzcoa, and ends by begging his Majesty to accept and esteem him as the person he claims to be, and to protect him (although with the utmost secrecy). He indicates a desire also to write something in English, to publish to the world, and especially to England, who he is, as he thinks that those who have put the queen of Scotland out of the way will endeavour to send her son after her.

"As he replies in this discourse to some of the questions I sent to your Majesty on Monday, they may be modified accordingly before they are sent to him.—Madrid, 18th June, 1587."—*Ibid.* p. 106.

"Sir Francis Englefield to the King.

"I send your Majesty herewith a summary of all that Arthur Dudley had sent to me, and as it appears that some of the questions your Majesty has are answered therein, I have eliminated the 4th, 5th, and 6th questions and have added those I now enclose.

"I also send enclosed what I think of writing with the questions, as I think I had better defer my going thither until after he has sent his answers to them, as I find many things which he told me verbally have been omitted in his statement.

"When your Majesty has altered what you think fit, I will put my letter, which I will take or send as your Majesty orders, in conformity. As he says he is in want of paper, your Majesty had better order him to be supplied with as much as may be needed; because the more fully he writes the better shall we be able to discover what we wish to know.—Madrid, 20th June, 1587." *Ibid.* p. 106.

"Sir Francis Englefield to the King.

"Although the statement sent to me by Arthur Dudley omits many things that he told me verbally, which things must be inquired into more particularly, yet it appears evident from what he writes that he makes as light of the claims of Huntingdon, and of the sons of the earl of Hertford, as he does of the life of the king of Scotland; and it is also manifest that he has had much conference with the earl of Leicester, upon whom he mainly depends for the fulfilment of his hopes. This and other things convince me that the queen of England is not ignorant of his pretensions; although, perhaps, she would be unwilling that they should be thus published to the world, for which reason she may wish to keep him (Dudley) in his low and obscure condition, as a matter of policy, and also in order that her personal immorality might not be known (the bastards of princes not usually being acknowledged in the lifetime of their parents), and she has always considered that it would be dangerous to her for her heir to be nominated in her lifetime, although he alleges that she has provided for the earl of Leicester and his faction to be able to elevate him (Dudley) to the throne when she dies, and perhaps marry him to Arabella (Stuart). For this and other reasons I am of opinion that he should not be allowed to get away, but should be kept very secure to prevent his escape. It is true his claim

at present amounts to nothing, but, with the example of Don Antonio before us, it cannot be doubted that France and the English heretics, or some other party, might turn it to their own advantage, or at least make it a pretext for obstructing the reformation of religion in England (for I look upon him as a very feigned Catholic) and the inheritance of the crown by its legitimate master; especially as during this Queen's time they have passed an Act in England, excluding from the succession all but the heirs of the Queen's body.—Madrid, 22nd June, 1587.

“Note to the above letter, in the handwriting of the King. ‘Since the other letters were written, the enclosed from Englefield has been handed to me.’ It certainly will be ‘safest to make sure of his (Dudley's) person until we know more about it.’”—*Ibid.* p. III.

(b) IN ENGLAND

The letter published by Ellis and referred to by Lingard pertaining to Arthur Dudley, except so much of it as concerns other matters, is as follows:

“B. C. an English Spy to his Government upon the preparation of the Spanish Armada.

(MS. Harl. 295, fol. 190. Orig.)

Madrid, 28th May, 1588.

.....

“About xvi monthes agone was taken a Youthe entringe Spaine owte of France, about Fontarabie, who hathe gyven owte his person to be begotten betwene our Quene and the Erle of Leycester; borne att Hampton courte, and furthwith by the elder Assheley delyvered into the handes of one Southorne the servant to Mrs. Assheley, with charge upon payne of deathe that the sayde Southorne shoulde not revele the matter, but bringe ytt upp; who brought the babe to a myllers wyfe of Mowlsey to gyve ytt sucke, and afterwards the said Southorne goynge into his countrey whiche was Wurcester or Shropshier, caried with hym the chylde, and there brought ytt up in learnynge and qualyties. In the ende, discoveringe unto this youthe the whole secrete, he tooke a flyght over sees, where many yeres he hathe remayned untill his commynge hyther. His name is Arthure, and of xxvii yeres of age, or there about. This forsoothe ys his sayenge, and takethe upon hym lyke to the man he pretendethe to be; wherupon he wanteth no kepers, and is very solemply warded and served, with an expence to this Kinge of vi crownes a daye. If I had myne Alphabete I woulde saye more towchinge his lewde speches; and yf I maye I will do hym plesure, specially

beinge called to accompt about hym, as yt is tolde me I shall shortly be; the kinge beinge informed that aboute that time I served in Courte, whereby I maye saye somewhat to this matter.* Madrid the xxviiiith of Maye 1588.

"Yours to use,
"B. C."

NOTE 6.

A LEWDE PASQUYLE SETTE FORTHE BY CERTEYN OF THE PARLYAMENT
MEN, 8 ELY.

PASQUILLO.

MOLYNEUX.

Quis regnaturus est super populum Israel.

BELL.

tollitur nomen euis de familia sua quia filium non habet.

MONSON.

date nobis possessionem (*sic*) inter cognatos patris mei.

KYNGSMYLL.

dabitur hiis qui ei proximi sunt.

STRANGE.

Religio sancta et immaculata hec est.

WENTWORTHE.

Libertate qua vocati estis ambulate.

GOODIERE.

cum Juuenis eram loquebar vt iuuenis.

* "This sort of scandal was not confined to Queen Elizabeth. In the Lansdowne MS. 53, art. 79, is a very curious Examination taken by virtue of Letters from the Lords of Queen Elizabeth's Council in 1587, respecting one Anne Burnell, who was stated to have announced herself as the daughter of Philip King of Spain, and that "it *might be* Queen Mary was her mother," she being *marked* "upon the reynes of her back" *with the Arms of England*. Her wits, it was discovered, were troubled, through great misery and penury, and the slighting of her Husband. To be serious, however, that Queen Elizabeth had her private attachments, no reasonable man who peruses the documents and histories of her time can doubt. They probably operated against her entering the married state more than any physical cause: though to soothe the wishes of her people the Queen's intention of marrying continued to be rumoured and encouraged almost to the end of life."—Foot-note by Ellis to above letter.

ST. JOHN.

Odium sussitat rixas.

BROWNE.

tolle tolle crucifige eos.

FFLEETWOOD.

Lex data est per moysem.

GALLICE.

Obsecro vos in viceribus Jesu Christi.

GRYMSTONE.

Colleccio fiat propter sanctos.

DODMERE.

me sequimini et nolite iungi moabitis.

STRYCLANDE.

occidit Josias vniuersos sacerdotes excelsorum.

NORTON.

age, insta, loquere, lege, scribe, tempestine et intempestine.

MARSHE.

Gentes et populos diuisit per regiones.

WYTHERS.

Judas mercator pessimus.

NUDIGATE.

Clamabo sicut tuba.

ARNOLDE.

tu dixisti.

DALTON.

non ego domine.

ALFORDE.

Audaces fortuna iuuat.

WORNCOMBE.

Esurii (*sic*) nec habeo quod manducem.

GRYCE.

qui prouocat iras producit discordias.

PRATTE.

mora trahit periculum.

YELUERTON.

sicut quidem eorum poeta dixit.

WYNTERE.

per mare per terras.

COMPTON.

Inundacio aquarum cooperuit terram.

COLBYE.

hoc facite et salui eritis.

WROTHE.

qui se exaltat humiliabitur.

PORTERE.

abscindatur qui aliter senciatur.

CHYCHESTERE.

nil addas verbis illius ne inueniaris mendax.

CAREW.

rapite rapite ad carcerem.

PATES.

pacem meam do vobis.

HALES

aperto capite intrent.

BOWYERE.

concordat cum originali.

GRAFTON.

cum priuilegio regali.

PASQUILLO

et omnis populus dicat amen.

- 1 Molynaxe the movere.
 - 2 Bell the Orato^r.
 - 3 Monson the provere.
 - 4 Kyngsmell the collecto^r.
 - 5 Wentworthe the wranglere.
 - 6 Strange the Relygyous.
 - 7 Seynt John the Janglere.
 - 8 Goodiere the glorious.
 - 9 Browne the blasphemore.
 - 10 marshe the hance ledere.
 - 11 Chestere the dremore.
 - 12 ffiletwood the pledere.
 - 13 Wythers the wryngere.
 - 14 Grafton the pryntere.
 - 15 Strykland the styngere.
 - 16 ffiletwood the myntere.
 - 17 Colbey the prouydere.
 - 18 Segarston the merye.
 - 19 wrothe the aspyrere.
 - 20 Warncombe the werye.
 - 21 Carewe the cruell.
 - 22 Bartewe the indyto^r.
 - 23 Chichester the fell.
 - 24 Gryse the bakbyto^r.
 - 25 Arnold the accuso^r.
 - 26 pates the pacyfyere.
 - 27 oseborne the Deuysor.
 - 28 Nudigate the cryere.
 - 29 Alforde the bolde.
 - 30 ffoster the fryere.
 - 31 Norton the scolde.
 - 32 Dalton the denyere.
 - 33 Dodmere the drudgere.
 - 34 pratte the presumere.
 - 35 ffarror the flyngere.
 - 36 Compton the consumere.
 - 37 Egecombe the erneste.
 - 38 Grymston the procto^r.
 - 39 Hales the hottest.
 - 40 Gallyce the docto^r.
 - 41 Wyntere the mariner.
 - 42 Yeluerton the poet.
 - 43 Bowyere the antiquer.
- here restes vs o^r quiere.

As for the rest
theye be at deuotion
and when theye be prest
theye trye a good motion.

NOTE 7

“ ROGER FFAWNES TALKE HAD WTH ME JOHN GUNTOR UPON
X^PMAS DAY & ST. STEPHINS DAY BEING THE XXVTH &
XXVITH OF DECEMBER 1578.

“ UPON Christmas daye at night, he and his brother in lawe & I came from evensong together, & by the waye as we went I used some talke of Mr. Darrell, marveling much what he ment having so fayre a living, that he lived no quieter in his cowntrie, to w^{ch} he annswered, that in trewth he was a marvaylous trowble-some man, & that he did not care what he did to be revenged or succh as he had malice vnto. to whom I sayd, yo^u have cawse to take hede, for if it be true as I have harde, he hath a rodd in pisse for yo^u, to w^{ch} he replied sayeing, that if he begon to trouble him, he would utter succh matter, as he should be ashamed to hyre, & then he swore by the lordes bodie, that if some men dyd knowe what he knew, he wold haue his hedd stroked from his bodye or elles be imprisoned during his lief, ffor it was to shamfull his hart dyd ake to thinck of it./ these wordes were vttered vnto me alone in cwming from the churche warde in a little meade plott wthout my Orcharde, his brothe being somewhat behinde, & he wisshed that it were knowen, but he was very lothe to deale in it to openly, but sayd he, if there were articles drawne, succh as I should deuise, & that *John Pynnock, Thom's Rewes, John Horseman ffantleroye & him self* were examined vppon them, there wold be succh matter opened, as towching the Queenes Matie and the nobilitie, as a man wold blesse him self to heare./ Then sayd I vnto him, if yo^u know any succh matt^e, you shall do well to vtter it ; for truely if he take yo^u in his reche he will make yo^u to feele him the longest daye of yo^e lief, then sayd he in fayth M^r Gunto^e, I will shoue it vnto yo^u, so as yo^u will vse the matter that it be not known to come of me, but as though it were drawn out of me by Interrogatories, but first before all this talke, he showed me, that he was enquired of at the Assises at Sarg (Sarum) for a childe w^{ch} should have byn murdered at littlecote, & that Marye Bonham was in like wise talked wth all about the same matter./

Itm he hard his m^r (master) saye vnto him in his studye, as at that tyme he was very familer wth him, that the tyme was now almost come, that long had byn loked for, that was, that now they were readie to goe together by the eares at the co^ete (corte),

w^{ch} if it so came to passe, (as he hoaped it wold) he sayd he wold be the first man him self that wth his owne hande wold dispatche my L. Treasurer, and diwse (diverse) oother vile wordes he hard his m^r (master) at tyme speak of the Queene and of the Cownsell, as that her Grace was very vnmete to gouerne, and that she was a dronckard and a naughtie woman of her bodie wth succh odious wordes, as his eares did ake to here, and the said ffawne much marvayled what he ment to speak this much vnto him; This was spoken about that tyme he laye at M^r Comptrollers w^{ch} he reconeth to be 4 or 5 yeres past, or thereabouts./

Itm. he sayde, that John Pynnock sayde to him, that when the Queenes matie was at Wilton last, his master rode thithe hooping to haue byn knighted as oothers were, & as he rode homewardes, his m^r (master) sayde vnto him, that the Queene was once mynded to ryde a hunting, but aft^e dinner she was so dronck, that she could not ryde, & much more talke he had at that tyme wth the sayd Pynnock, as towching her matie & Cownsell./

Itm. he sayde, that when his m^r (master) wold have byn diuorsed from his wief, he spake very earnestly vnto the sayd ffawne to gett him fowre parsons to sweare y^t she that was his wief, was assured vnto one [] before he married her, and this ffawne sayeth, that he gott one John Shynfield, and that his m^r (master) gott one Hugh Lamport, and twoo oothers whose names now he doth not remeñb, & instructed them for their othe, & gave them oxl^s a peece for their paynes, and this he well knoweth to be trew, and he further knoweth, that his m^r p^mised vnto Hugh Lamport a howsse./

JANUARY 13TH

In p^mis the sayd ffawne the daye aboue said sayde vnto me, that sithence I last talked wth him that his wief happened to tell him of a certen talee w^{ch} Marie Bonham told her, when she laye at his house, w^{ch} talee was as followeth./

She sayde, that there were twoo gentlemen, the one loving thother very well, the one happened to come in place where as was a very good mydwief, & sayd, I wold I might be so bold when occasion serveth to craue yo^e healp, to whom she p^mised, that he might coñawnd her, aft^e w^{ch} tyme, the oother gentleman who had begotten a gentle woman wth childe sent for y^e same midwier in the name of the first gentleman to whom the midwier had p^mised. Then afterward she told all the talee, likesas before I had told him, & when he had hard y^e whole talee, he willed her to hold her peax, sayeing vnto her, thow hardest this talee of thy broth^e the last daye, & now thow tellest yt after hym, but she

vtterly denied yt, & sayde, that she never hard it but at Mary Bonhams mowthe only, & that the sayd Marye told it as an old storye./

Not/ the effect of this talee was, that a midwief being brought in y^e night to a gentle mans house, she fownd a gentle woman there, neading y^e sayd midwiefes healp, w^{ch} she yelded vnto her, & was delivered of a man childe, w^{ch} after many threatninges vsed by the said gen^l was throwen into the fire & so burned. Mdm that W^m Darrell sayde at one tyme, that he trusted to hang one hundred knaves ministers rownd about him, and to see not one heretike least alyve./

Itm when he hard that the Duke of Norffolke was come to the Towre, he sayd what a foole was he to come./

Itm that the sayd Darrell sayde, that my L. Dyer for his iniustice was worthie to haue his skynne pulled over his eares to make a Cheyer./

Itm that M^r Bridges vppon a falling out betwene him & Darrell should saye, that if all were knowen, Darrell wold be made smart./

Itm that the sayd Darrell never came to the Churche since the beginning of her ma^{tes} reigne./

The speach w^{ch} ffawne told me John Gunto^e here is omitted conñing my L. Keaper, who hearing the cause betwene him and Ryde wth great extremitie (as Darrell thought) well sayd he to his man ffawne, thow shalt see the matter better handeled the next daye of hearing, w^{ch} daye my L. sayeng nothing in steede of his earnestnes against Darrell the daye before, how sayest thow qd he to ffawne, did not I tell the? Diddest thow not see the bittell headded knaue sytt still, he was muett, & had not a worde to speak; & told me further he gaue y^e L. Keaper a bribe of one 200^{li}.

Itm he sayde, that by his masters comawndement he did arrest wth ye Cownselles lyrēs (letters) one Lewys Dye who then served M^r Edward Hungerford brother vnto S^r Walter, & before that tyme was S^r Walters man, & of sett p^opose putt to S^r Walter to serue M^r Darrelles turne, who had certen letters of his masters about him, and that he tooke from S^r Walters heeles one oother man at Sarg (Sarum) w^{ch} both men he was earnestly by his sayd M^r comawnded to convey vnto Balson pke lodge, & to spare for no cost to make them drunck, & to make them a very good fire, and to be carefull that after he had the parties that they conveyed no letters away; & comawnde in like wise a good fire to be made [in their] Chamber, sayeng that he wold come thither in the night priuely, and therefore willed, that when they were drunck to convey all succh lrēs as they cowld fynde vnto him./ but bicause y^e parties cowld not be made drunck, one Rewes was lodged wth them, who when they were fast a slepe stoale awaye their letters

& conveyed them vnto his m^r; who afterwarde so cownterfeyted the same in succh sort, that the letters being showed vnto S^r Walter, & S^r Walter reading some part of them cowld not denye them to be of his own hande writinge./ the cownterfaiting of these lres as this ffawne sayed vnto me, was the only cause that my ladie had succh portion out of S^r Walters landes./

Itm the said ffawne sayd vnto me, that one Charnocke laye a great tyme at Littlecote wth his m^r, & during the tyme he there laye, his m^r & Charnocke were very much in Chamber together.

Itm the sayd ffawne sayde that his m^r offered an hundred powndes to haue a small scroll stollen out of an office in london, w^{ch} scroll if he had, he sayde, he doubted not to recover all the lands the Erle of Hertford had of his father./

(Brit. Mus., Lansdowne MS. 29.)

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